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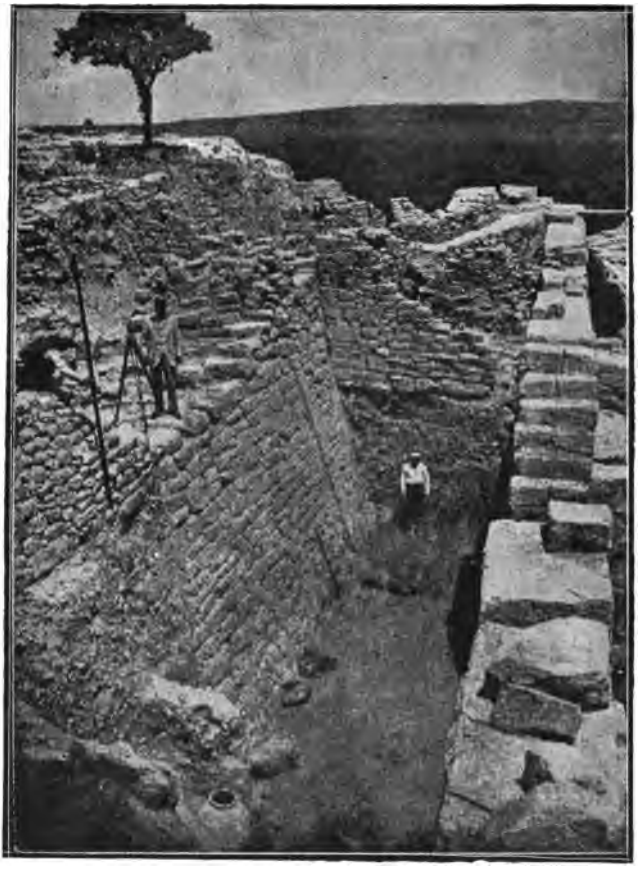

WALL OF MYCENAEAN TROY

On the left is seen the wall of the VI Stratum, and on the right appear the foundations of structures built in Roman times. In the distance stretches the valley of the Simois.

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THE VANDERBILT ORIENTAL SERIES

EDITED BY

HERBERT CUSHING TOLMAN AND JAMES HENRY STEVENSON

WEISSENBORN'S

HOMERIC LIFE

TRANSLATED AND ADAPTED TO THE

NEEDS OF AMERICAN STUDENTS

BY

GILBERT CAMPBELL SCOGGIN, M.A.

Vanderbilt University

AND

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Vanderbilt University

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PREFACE

In translating Professor Edmund Weissenborn's *Leben und Sitte bei Homer* we have endeavored, as far as possible, to adapt it to the needs of American students. Consequently, some sections which are of interest chiefly to German readers have been omitted, while others have been amplified.

For a more complete discussion of the various subjects treated, references have been given to: Harrington and Tolman's *Greek and Roman Mythology*, for a fuller treatment of the origin and development of the myths; Reichel's *Homerische Waffen* (edition of 1901), for modern theories respecting Homeric armor; Tsountas and Manatt's *The Mycenaean Age*, for a more detailed account of the recent excavations. We regret that we have not been able to refer to Professor Seymour's *Greece in the Homeric Age*, soon to appear in the Yale Bicentennial Series.

For illustrative material we are indebted to: Baumeister's *Denkmäler;* Brunn's *Griechische Götterideale;* Guhl and Koner's *Leben der Griechen und Römer;* Dörpfeld's *Troja, 1893;* Heinrich's *Troja bei Homer und in der Wirklichkeit.*

The chapter dealing with the Troad is from an article by Professor H. C. Tolman, written soon after a visit to the East, and is quoted with his permission. The chapter on Hissarlik is translated from Dr. Wilhelm Dörpfeld's *Troja, Bericht über die im Jahre 1893 in Troja veranstalteten Ausgrabungen.*

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A select bibliography has been added, which we hope will prove a valuable feature of the work.

We are aware that absolute consistency in the rendering of Greek names is, as yet, an impossibility. As a rule, the Latin form has been given when such exists, but in a few cases unfamiliar names are merely transliterated. Our purpose has been to avoid all strange and uncouth forms by giving those current in English literature.

In referring to Homer we have adopted the common method of using Greek capitals for the books of the Iliad, and small letters for those of the Odyssey.

We would here express our thanks to Professor Weissenborn, of the Gymnasium at Mühlhausen, for his generous permission to use freely his excellent little volume.

Acknowledgment is due to Professor Thomas Carter and Dr. B. M. Drake, of Vanderbilt University, for their careful reading of the proof.

To the editors of the Vanderbilt Oriental Series, Professors H. C. Tolman and J. H. Stevenson, we are greatly indebted for many valuable suggestions and criticisms.

Especially to Professor Tolman, our teacher, we wish to express our gratitude for his constant interest and oversight during the preparation of this entire work.

GILBERT CAMPBELL SCOGGIN,
CHARLES GRAY BURKITT.

Vanderbilt University,
Nashville, Tenn., Feb. 14, 1903.

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πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω
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THE NATIONAL EPIC

1. **Mythical Elements.** The National Epic takes its subject-matter from primitive folk-myths and hero-contests. By the Greeks all nature was peopled with godlike beings. The bright noonday sky they adored as Zeus, and the starry heaven of night as his spouse, Hera. The radiant sun was worshiped as Phoebus Apollo, the moon as Apollo's sister, Artemis. The blue sky, returning after the thunderstorm, was deified as Pallas Athena, the daughter of Zeus, sprung from his head, and the storm wind became Hermes, messenger of the gods. In every fountain dwelt a nymph, in every river a god; the shady grove was inhabited by dryads (Z, 420), and the strangely formed stalactite cave was the Naiads' home (ν, 107). About these divinities imagination invented strange myths.

In South Thessaly, where Mount Pelion overlooks the surrounding landscape, old Peleus ruled as king. He had married the sea nymph Thetis, and the fruit of this union was swift-footed Achilles, who was nurtured and brought up in his youth by Chiron, the mountain centaur. The mists rising from the sea settled about the summit of Mount Pelion; out of the bosom of the cloud sprang the waters, which, gathering into a small mountain stream, flowed downward with ever-increasing speed and uproar.[1] Like a

[1] Harrington and Tolman, Greek and Roman Mythology, 77, 78.

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youthful hero, all-conquering, himself unconquered, the mountain stream (Achilles) rushed to the vale below, and thus far was he his father's glory (Patroclus). But in the plain the brook slackened its speed, trickled away in the sand, and was finally dried up by the heat of the sun; the hero was slain by the arrows of Apollo.

There is another myth which came from those primitive times when the Greeks were still a wandering people. Zeus, who likewise bore the names of Agamemnon and Menelaüs, was deprived of his consort, Helen (the moonlight), by Paris, the god of the underworld (the darkness); but subsequently she was victoriously regained. In another district the hero of light, who fought with the god of darkness and was wounded by him in the heel, was called Diomedes, a favorite of Zeus and Athena.

In like manner poetic imagination pictured time as a never-aging woman, who, sitting at the loom, spins day after day, only to undo her work again at night. In her youth she had been married to the bright god of spring, but the hero of the changing seasons cannot remain with his spouse; he must depart from her in order to make a journey to the far west, for the year is passing and life is fleeting. Therefore Odysseus must enter the realm of shades. The all-concealing underworld, Calypso, receives him and wishes to detain him; with her he should live forever in happiness and delight. Furthermore, there was a belief, largely based on Egyptian ideas, that, like an enchantress (Circe), this lower world changes into wild beasts those coming to her in the course of their souls' wandering. While the wife, grieving for the companion

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of her youth, again at night unravels her fabric, the thousand shining stars swarm about her as suitors. But the realm of the dead cannot detain the hero. With a never-failing regularity the year rolls round and ushers in the spring. So Odysseus returns home to Penelope, who is faithfully awaiting him, and at the feast of Apollo the sun god's arrows dissipate the night with all her stars.

2. The Hero-Tales of the Trojan War. Furthermore, tradition told of great wars that were waged in the time of the Greek migration. As memorable events of those early days there stood out prominently the futile battles about seven-gated Thebes and the final capture of Troy. The excavations in the sixth stratum of the nine buried cities of Hissarlik, begun by Schliemann and continued by Dörpfeld, support the view that ancient Troy belonged to the period of Mycenaean civilization.[1] The tales of the rape of Helen and the capture of the city by means of the wooden horse point to the fact that the Trojan war fell in the time of the first migration of the Greeks into the country bordering on the Mediterranean, since they, being inexperienced in navigation, still called their vessels "horses of the sea." At the same period occurred also the long-continued struggles on the part of those early settlers at Tiryns, Mycenae, Thebes, and Orchomenus, a people who were probably of Phoenician origin, and who had already reached a high state of civilization. These contests, which finally led to a political union of hostile tribes, found expression in the horrible tales concerning the

[1] See § 81.

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house of Mycenaean Atreus and the family of Theban Labdacus, in the story of the fratricidal war between Eteocles and Polynices, and in the recital of the wretched fate of the heroes who returned from Troy.

3. Blending of Myth and Hero-Tales among the Greeks. Handed down from parents to children, from times immemorial, were various myths which had lived in the mouths of the people, and which, being associated with the events of the great struggle about Troy, had grown into a single narrative. Among these may be mentioned the rape of Helen, the premature death of the youthful hero, Achilles, the wanderings of Odysseus into the realm of the shades, and the faithfulness of Penelope. In the course of centuries the stories of the siege of Troy and the events connected with it so magnified this war at home that everything centered about it. Hence out of these mythical creations arose kings and heroes whose fates were closely associated with the Trojan war, and whose divine descent alone recalled their original divine nature. The different epithets which one and the same god bore among different tribes, or as a result of different divine manifestations, made it possible to create new personalities. So Agamemnon and Menelaüs, which were in reality only different epithets of Zeus, became the two royal brothers; so Patroclus, who was originally the same person as Achilles, became the friend of the latter and suffered the selfsame fate at the hands of Apollo; so the mistress of the realm of shadows, Calypso-Circe, became two goddesses, both of whom detained Odysseus. Recollection of early immigration became so obscure that

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the Greeks believed themselves to be indigenous to the soil, and only the noble families preserved traditions concerning that foreign land whence they had come. The Cadmaeans regarded Phoenicia as their home; the Pelopidae, Phrygia; the Danaïdae, Egypt. In this way, what had been an immigration into Greece now was regarded as an expedition from Greece. When many centuries had passed after those great national movements, such as the siege of Troy, the struggle for the possession of Mycenae, and the battles about Thebes, the wandering of the Dorians—the last stragglers in the migration—again threw the Greek peninsula into commotion. Through the pressure of the Aeolians on the north and the strength of the Achaean sovereignty in the Peloponnesus, these tribes were forced to emigrate to the islands of the sea and to the coast of Asia Minor. The Ionians, also disturbed by the Dorians, were fired with the common desire of migrating eastward, since the fruitfulness of the Asiatic coast allured them, and the rich conquests of the first emigrants drew others after them. But the new struggles with the Asiatics recalled the old traditional war about the walls of Ilios. The contact and coöperation of the various tribes led to the belief that they, with their myths and hero-contests, were related to the Trojan war, and that every district, with its chief, had participated in it. Accordingly, a creative and all-comprehensive imagination wove the complete cycle of Trojan tales into a single long narrative, which was repeated from generation to generation. It began with the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, and extended down to the final capture of the enemy's city

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and the return of the heroes. The poets sought glory by rehearsing, with the accompaniment of the lyre, at royal feasts and popular festivals, the most beautiful episodes out of this material relating to Troy. In the person of Homer there arose the great poet of the national hero-epic, who, with his Achilleïd, so far eclipsed all other poems that they passed into oblivion, and whom as the master of heroic song all succeeding poets followed closely in form and content. Hence out of the successive contributions of later bards were formed the two great epics, the Iliad and the Odyssey.

4. Relation of Myth and Hero-Story Illustrated by the Nibelungenlied. Even in more modern times the student can see a striking illustration of the relation of myth and hero-story in the German Nibelungenlied. As in the Iliad and the Odyssey the principal heroes and actors are of mythical origin, so likewise Sigfried, Brunhild, the Nibelungs, Kriemhild, and Hagen are godlike beings. Sigfried, the shining god of spring with all its blessings, overcomes the dragon of winter and liberates from her sleep of death Brunhild (earth), who is surrounded by the fires of hell. But the spring is of short duration; the hero must go forth upon an adventure. Victoriously he penetrates the realm of mist; marries Kriemhild, the sister of the Nibelungs; wins for the Nibelung Gunnar his former love, the Valkyrie Brunhild, and in consequence suffers death at the hands of Hagen. But the events of the German migration, with their all-convulsing, all-transforming battles; the destruction of the Burgundian kingdom by the Huns under Gunther; the great battle at Chalons; the murder of At-

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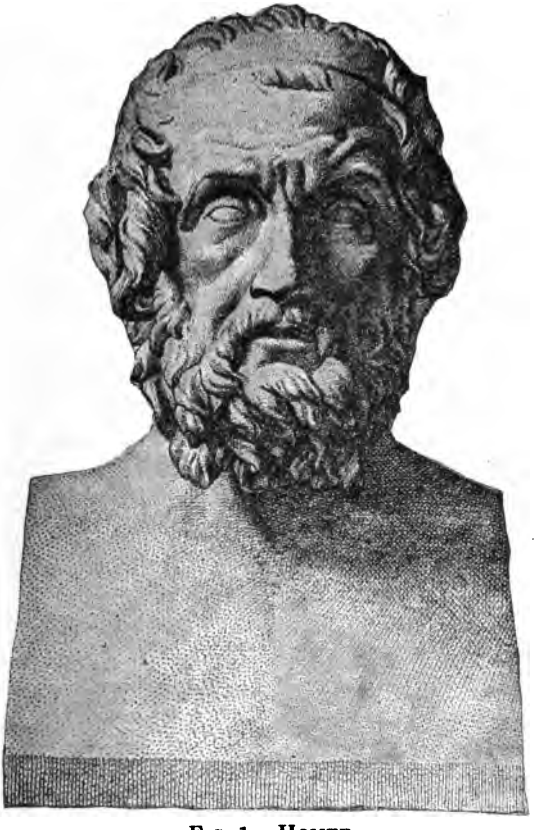

FIG. 1. HOMER
(Naples, National Museum.)

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tila by his wife Ildico, who as sister of the Burgundian kings avenged their death; the mighty deeds of the victorious Theodoric—all result in a transformation and a final blending of mythical action with historical events. While the myths and stories of the migration were handed down for centuries, imaginary forms and miraculous deeds, in the popular mind, lost all supernatural character. The godlike beings were changed to men, and became companions of the celebrated warrior kings. The myths perished entirely in the story of the splendor of the Burgundian kingdom, the mighty battles of the Burgundian kings, and their destruction by the Huns.

5. Rise of Hero-Epic. In the Nibelungenlied we meet a process remarkably similar to that which was at work in the composition of the Iliad and the Odyssey. When the recollection of the stories of the great migrations became again vivid through the crusades, with those splendid wars and achievements which stirred and transformed the whole world, the poet was impelled to sing in hero-song what had come down to him from the past. To a striking degree the German epic resembles the Iliad. In the former, the war with the Huns does not constitute the main action, nor in the latter do the contests of the Trojans; but, as in the Iliad, Achilles's heroic character and devotion to his friend constitute the central point about which everything is grouped and to which all the war tales are linked, so, in the Nibelungenlied, the central point is Sigfried's love and death. As the whole Iliad is pervaded by the thought that in the mind of the hero honor and loyalty to a friend stand higher than even his own life, as Odysseus rejects im-

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mortality and a life of abundance and delight for his home and wife, so likewise in the Nibelungenlied, in spite of the looser connection of its parts, the idea prevails that men must preserve loyalty under all circumstances. So Sigfried remains steadfast even unto death in the service to which he has voluntarily pledged himself; Kriemhild as a faithful wife avenges the death of her beloved to the destruction of her own family; Gunther and his brothers, Hagen and Volker, maintain their loyalty as men and kings in their devotion to their people.

6. **Unity of Action.** Not only do both Iliad and Odyssey present one hero and one idea, but unity of treatment prevails throughout both epics. The strife between Achilles and Agamemnon, at the opening of the Iliad, is the cause of all the disasters of the poem up to the death of Hector. When Achilles withdraws from the fight on account of the inconsiderate action of the tyrannical and selfish king, Agamemnon goes forth against the Trojans without him, but is defeated, and along with other heroes is seriously wounded. The distress of the Greeks, whose vessels are already threatened by the Trojan firebrands, impels the sympathetic Patroclus to don Achilles's armor and to advance at the head of the Myrmidons to assist the Greeks, who are sorely pressed. Here he perishes. The deep grief at the loss of his dearest friend becomes in Achilles the dominant passion, causing him to forget his resentment toward Agamemnon. Although Achilles knows that soon after Hector's fall he too must meet his fate, yet he is driven by loyalty to his friend and by his heroic character to avenge the death of Patroclus, and does

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not rest until he has slain Hector. The unity of action pervading all the events of the Iliad is the chief reason why we must regard one poet as the creator of its principal part, the Achilleïd, the main action of which is assumed by the other portions of the poem. Likewise in the Odyssey the central idea is that the man of noble character values love for his own people and loyalty to his nation far beyond a life of pleasure and delight in exile. In the same way (to illustrate again by the German epic) unity pervades the whole Nibelungenlied. Although the connection of the adventures appears much looser, and the poem itself falls into two great divisions, yet the one idea of loyalty is everywhere supreme. Kriemhild is the character which binds both parts into a whole, and all episodes become subordinate to the main action. The exploits of the Trojan war, the return of the heroes, and the tribal migrations, which influenced and convulsed the whole nation for centuries, afterwards furnished material for the national epic. So it is that this setting forms the broad and dark background for brilliant and soul-stirring action.

7. The Beginning of the Epic Introduces Us into the Midst of the Action. The poem plunges *in medias res.* It begins with that point of the action or situation which is a crisis so comprehensive as to open up a wide perspective toward the future and the final goal. The description of the plague and the fateful strife between the great hero and the king furnishes us a clear insight into the conditions of the war and the situations in the camp. It also reveals to us the inner nature and the different characters of the he-

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roes and awakens our sympathy for Achilles, who, so popular and so noble, is to meet an early death. In the Iliad we visit the Greek camp with Chryses, the priest of Apollo, as he comes to ransom his captive daughter. In the Odyssey we accompany the goddess Athena to Ithaca, and there learn the vain importunities of the suitors and the helpless condition of the family of the absent Odysseus. We hear the goddess as she encourages Telemachus to seek information about his absent father. Our sympathy for Telemachus and our aversion to the arrogant nobles reach their highest point when we hear of their plots against the life of the young prince.

8. Brevity of the Main Action: the Episodes. Unity of treatment requires that the action be limited to a comparatively short time. Accordingly, out of the ten years of the Trojan war Homer has selected only a few days—up to the death of Hector only six eventful days—in which the great events take place. Of the forty-one days embraced in the action of the Odyssey, only sixteen form a vital part of the narrative; and if we take the Telemachy as contemporaneous with the adventures of Odysseus, the number is actually reduced to ten. So, too, in Goethe's Hermann und Dorothea, where the author endeavors to imitate Homeric style, we find the action limited to half a day. In his treatment of the action the poet is accustomed to interweave a retrospect of the events which have preceded. Hence Homer has Odysseus himself relate his adventures from the sack of Troy to his arrival at the Isle of Calypso; in the Nibelungenlied, Hagen narrates Sigfried's youthful deeds; and in Goethe's poem, cited above, the magis-

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trate depicts the terrors of the revolution and Dorothea's fate. In general, where the poet comes to speak of new persons and great events, he treats with clearness, breadth, and faithful minuteness all that is known to him of their past. This addition of episodes and their relative independence of the main action form a striking peculiarity of epic poetry. There are depicted for us the quiet existence and activity of men and events in all their completeness. Therefore we do not hasten impatiently toward the goal, but tarry with interest at every step.

9. The Epic Is a Detailed Picture of an Entire Period of Civilization. The poet gives everything which stands in relation to the main action; so the stream of his narrative flows along, ever broader, ever richer, ever mightier, and his poem assumes the shape of a world picture. All antiquity, with its conditions, the customs of the people, the public and private life in all phases, are revealed before our eyes. The fates of the heroes are under the influence of a world of law and morals, for "the will of Zeus is accomplished" (A, 5). The poet surveys with deep insight the activity of the world, and penetrates the relation of things; he realizes how all human action strives toward a divinely appointed goal; he perceives that greatness is reached only when one is in harmony with the divine, and that those who insolently disregard the right bring upon themselves an avenging fate. Zeus, the father of men and gods, is the giver of every blessing, being himself the personification of kindness and compassion; he is the protector of the weak, the wretched, the persecuted, and he weighs destiny in his righteous hand; the gods are his help-

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ers and agents in the exercise of his universal sovereignty.

10. Similes. Similes enliven epic poetry. By means of a comparison with well-known phenomena of nature or of human life they bring the point of the action or situation[1] vividly before the imagination. A peculiarity of Homeric similes consists not so much in the fact that they render conspicuous and emphatic the point of similarity as that they give in the comparison a complete and well-rounded picture, with all details and attendant circumstances. Thus we are led into a new circle of ideas; our imagination is excited; we grasp the epic deed or situation easily and quickly, and present it vividly to our minds. Similes constantly accompany the episodes. The poet is accustomed to employ them especially where a new element enters into the action or where things take a new turn. In order to render such a point conspicuous, several similes often follow in quick succession. For example, the first advance of the Greeks to battle (B, 455–480) is clearly portrayed by means of six pictures illustrating different stages, from the assembling of the troops to their final preparation for attack.

When Menelaüs (Γ, 23) perceives Paris boastfully striding forward, clad in his leopard's skin, he springs down from his chariot and rushes toward him as the bloodthirsty lion which leaps upon its prey. Paris shrinks back in terror like the man who, pale with horror, starts back before a threatening serpent (Γ, 33).

The last decisive onslaught of the Trojans, at the

[1] Seymour, Homeric Language and Verse, pp. 16, 17.

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end of the 15th book, is pictured by four comparisons (O, 605–634).

The sorrow of Patroclus at the misfortune of the Greeks is depicted in two similes: Tears spring from his eyes like the fountain from the rock (Π, 3); and he weeps like a little girl who clings to the garment of her mother, and with tears in her eyes begs to be taken up into her arms (Π, 6).

The Myrmidons are eagerly bent upon battle, like wolves that have sated themselves upon the stag, and, dripping with blood, rush forward to the forest stream (Π, 156). The Greeks pour forth from the line of ships like a swarm of exasperated wasps that rush upon the first passer-by (Π, 259).

When Achilles (T, 356) arouses the Greeks to battle, the troops stream forth from the ships, and everywhere bronze helmets, shields, and lances gleam like glittering snowflakes that fall from heaven under the breath of the cold north wind. Achilles's shield, when he has donned his armor (T, 375), flames in bright splendor as a fire which, burning upon the mountain, shines far out to sea. When the plain of the Scamander (Y, 164) is filled with warriors and chariots, and Aeneas steps forth from the foe, Achilles starts up like a lion that, hard pressed by a crowd of hunters, lashes his sides with his tail and, foaming with rage, makes ready for the fray.

Achilles rushes toward the city as a victorious racehorse dashes over the plain (X, 22). He flashes in the gleam of his bronze armor (X, 26) as Orion, the most brilliant among the stars of night. As the serpent which has sated itself upon the poisonous herbs coils about its hole and awaits the approaching man

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(X, 93), so Hector awaits his opponent at the Scaean gate. When Achilles approaches, Hector trembles and flees; Achilles rushes after him, like the mountain hawk after the fleeing doves (X, 139).

As horses crowned with victory bend their course around the goal (X, 162), so the heroes three times encircle Priam's wall. As the hound pursues the young stag startled from its covert, and as often as it tries to conceal itself rouses it up (X, 189), so Achilles drives the fleeing Hector aside into the field again when he attempts to approach the city walls. As in a dream one cannot overtake a fleeing form (X, 199), and the other cannot escape, so Achilles cannot reach Hector, and Hector cannot escape his pursuer. Finally Hector craves the assurance that the body of whoever is slain may be inviolate, but Achilles answers (X, 262) that as no compact is possible between men and lions, and as wolves and lambs will never become reconciled to each other, so there can be no pledge between them.

In this manner the action of the Iliad is clearly indicated and rendered conspicuous in all its chief points by more than a hundred similes which are found distributed throughout the poem.

The Odyssey has thirty-four similes. As in the Nibelungenlied Kriemhild's sad fate and the issue of things in the distant future are set forth by her dream, so the first simile in the Odyssey gives in picturesque completeness the outline of the incidents at Ithaca and the prophecy of their outcome. "As when in the lair of the lion a hind prepares a bed for her young the lion brings sudden destruction to all (δ, 333–340), so Odysseus, returning home, will bring death upon the suit-

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ors." It is striking how similes almost everywhere stand in the closest connection with the action. The significant moments of Odysseus's departure from Calypso and his reception by Nausicaä are presented in nine similes.

Hermes hastens over the waves like the gull diving after fish (ε, 51–54).

When Poseidon unchains the storm, which defies all description, the poet again supplies pictures to assist the imagination. As the north wind scatters the thistledown over the field, so the tempest tosses about the rudderless wreck (ε, 328–332). As the storm scatters a heap of chaff, so the hurricane scatters the timbers of the ship (ε, 368–370).

The poet uses simile especially to give full expression to the feelings. As children rejoice when their father begins to recover from a severe illness, so is Odysseus happy when he beholds the land after the terrors of the storm (ε, 394–398). As many little pebbles hang to the suckers of the polyp, so the pieces of skin flayed from his hand cleave to the rocks (ε, 432–435). The rescued Odysseus burrows under the bush deep in the dry leaves, just as a farmer keeps alive in ashes the spark of the firebrand (ε, 488–491).

Again the poet makes use of simile in order to portray effectively the impression made by personal appearance. As Artemis surpasses in stature and noble bearing the beautiful mountain nymphs in her train, so is Nausicaä distinguished among her attendants (ζ, 102–107). As the hungry lion seeking his prey in wind and storm dares to approach a guarded fold, so necessity drives Odysseus to address Nausicaä (ζ, 130–135). Slender as the sacred palm which Odysseus

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once saw and admired in Delos, the maiden stood before him wondrously beautiful (ζ, 166–169). As the goldsmith by gilding lends a charming brilliancy to a silver ornament, so Athena had spread over the shoulders of Odysseus dazzling grace (ζ, 232–235).

Fig. 2. ODYSSEUS PRESENTING CUP TO POLYPHEMUS

The sobbing of Odysseus is like the wail of a captive woman (θ, 523–531). The effort to blind the eye of Cyclops is as the strenuous labor of the shipbuilder and his companions at the drill (ι, 383–388). The enchanted wild beasts of Circe are compared to the dogs which the master feeds (κ, 216–219). The calves skipping with joy about the cows as they return to their stall give a picture of the thronging of Odysseus's companions around him on his return (κ, 410–

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417). His companions seized by Scylla are compared to the fish floundering at the end of the rod (μ, 251–255).

The following simile beautifully portrays not only the longing, which is the real point of comparison, but also the rest which, after long suffering, will finally fall to the lot of the hero: As the field laborer after the day's toil longs for the setting of the sun in order to return home to his evening meal, and his knees totter as he plods along, so Odysseus yearns for the sunset (ν, 31–35).

It seems to us that we see the ship advancing when it is said that as horses, lightly lifting their feet, hurry over the plain, so the ship, lightly rearing its stern over the level surface of the sea, moves onward and the waves swish around the keel (ν, 81–85).

The poet is impelled to paint vividly the emotions of the actors. Eumaeus receives Telemachus as a father would receive his son (π, 17–21). Odysseus and Telemachus hang in each other's embrace and sob, as sea eagles and vultures scream when deprived of their young (π, 216–222). Eumaeus listens to the words of Odysseus as an audience to the recital of a singer (ρ, 518–521). As the melting snow disappears, so beneath her tears fades the color from the cheeks of Penelope (τ, 205–208). Heavy thoughts trouble Penelope's heart, for she hesitates whether to remain with Telemachus or to follow one of the suitors, as the sorrowing nightingale complains to the night of her woes in ever-changing melodies (τ, 518–524). The heart of Odysseus rages with anger at the shameful deeds of the suitors as a dog, protecting her young, barks wildly at the stranger (ν, 14–17). Penelope, in her sorrow, wishes herself out of the world, just

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as the storm wind, according to tradition, carried away the daughters of Pandarus (υ, 66–79).

The final revenge is very impressively portrayed. Odysseus stretches the cord of the bow as the player does the lyre string. It gives forth a sound as beautiful as the clear voice of the swallow (φ, 405–410). While the conflict rages in the hall, and Athena holds aloft her aegis, the suitors flee like oxen pursued by the gadfly. As hawks that pounce upon a flock of birds settling upon the plain, so Odysseus and his loyal followers slay their wretched victims (χ, 299–307). All the suitors lie crowded together in blood and dust, like fish which have been drawn up out of the sea in a large net and emptied on the sand (χ, 383–390). All dabbled with gore, Odysseus appears to Eurycleia like a lion who has sated himself upon an ox, and drips with blood, while his eyes roll frightfully (χ, 401–406). The act of revenge closes with the death of the faithless maidservants, who end their lives like thrushes in the snares (χ, 468–473). The boundless joy of the reunited pair is like that of the shipwrecked who have saved their lives by swimming to the shore (ψ, 233–240). The souls of the suitors conducted by Hermes to the lower world are compared to bats fluttering hither and thither in the darkness (ω, 6–10).

The double relation of the simile to the significant turn of the action and to the inmost feeling of the person, as we have repeatedly seen above, renders clear to us the excellent imitation of the Homeric style of Hermann und Dorothea in the passage where Hermann seeks Dorothea in marriage and comes upon her at the fountain:

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As the man on a journey, who, just at the moment of sunset,
Fixes his gaze once more on the rapidly vanishing planet,
Then on the side of the rocks and in the dark thicket still sees he
Hov'ring its image; wherever he turns his looks, on in front still
Runs it, and glitters and wavers before him in colors all splendid,
So before Hermann's eyes did the beautiful form of the maiden
Softly move, and appeared to follow the path through the cornfields. —*Bowring's Translation.*

11. Ornamental Epithets. Ornamental epithets (*epitheta ornantia*) which might be called characteristic, or, still better, graphic, serve the same purpose as similes—namely, to stimulate our imagination and to make vivid the picture. It is at the same time characteristic and graphic when we hear the herald described as "loud-proclaiming;" the horses, "beautiful-maned;" the earth, "fruit-producing;" and the sea, "loud-roaring." Such expressions force our imagination to contemplate all objects with special reference to their dominant characteristics.[1] We here cite a limited number of epithets, examples of which occur on every page: "Graciously beaming eyes," the "silver-shining veil," the "silver-colored linen," the "tawny hero, Menelaüs," the "man-honoring battlefield," "plume-waving Hector," the "long-shadowing lance," "garment-trailing women," "beautiful-rimmed ships," "sea-sailing vessels," the "venerable mother," the "virtuous wife," "winged words."

12. Meter. Every syllable is distinguished by three characteristics:

(1) The stress of tone, which is dependent upon the force with which the breath is expelled.

[1] Seymour, Homeric Language and Verse, pp. 11–13.

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(2) The pitch of tone, which is conditioned upon the vibrations of the vocal chords and determines the character of the vowel.

(3) The duration of tone, which we call quantity.

In English our accent is mainly the stress accent, and it becomes the controlling factor in our versification—*e. g.:*

"Lét me essáy, O Múse! to fóllow the wánderer's foótsteps."
(*Longfellow's Evangeline.*)

The Greek accent marks do not indicate the stress accent, but the pitch or musical accent; for example, of the two vowels *e* and *o*, the former is of the higher pitch. This old law goes back to the time of our mother-speech, the Indo-European, where the relation between the stress accent and pitch accent was closer. Examples of pitch accent we see in such variations of vowels as appear in the Greek πέτομαι and ποτάομαι and in the English *bind* and *band*.

Greek versification is dependent upon the duration of tone. One short syllable is the unit of measure—one time (Latin *mora*). This corresponds to one eighth note in music. A long syllable is equivalent to two short syllables; hence it corresponds to one quarter note. Every foot contains one syllable which has the stress or ictus upon it. Such a syllable is designated, in technical language, the *arsis*, while the rest of the foot is called the *thesis*. This nomenclature is directly opposite to that of the Greek, since *thesis* denoted the putting down of the foot, which of course was simultaneous with the ictus, and the *arsis* the raising of the foot. The confusion of terms was due to Roman writers, who applied *arsis* to the raising of the voice and *thesis* to its lowering.

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Let the student remember that in scanning he is not reading the Greek with reference to stress accent, as he reads his English poetry, but with reference to duration of tone (quantity), the height of tone (accent), and the stress of tone (ictus).

The meter of the Iliad and the Odyssey is dactylic hexameter, consisting of six dactyls (— ⏑ ⏑), the last of which is incomplete and resembles a trochee. The original form of this heroic hexameter, as it is also called, is as follows:

— ⏑ ⏑ | — ⏑ ⏑ | — ⏑ ⏑ | — ⏑ ⏑ | — ⏑ ⏑ | — ⏑

Two short syllables can be contracted into one long syllable in every foot except the fifth, which usually remains a pure dactyl. Hence the dactyl may be replaced by a spondee:

— ⏓ | — ⏓ | — ⏓ | — ⏓ | — ⏑ ⏑ | — ⏓

This hexameter can be divided by a caesura into two parts:

— ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑, — | ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑.
— ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ | ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑.
— ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑, — | ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑.

Or into three parts by two caesurae:

— ⏑ ⏑, — ‖ ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑, — | ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑.
— ⏑ ⏑, — ‖ ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑, ‖ — ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑.
— ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑ ‖ ⏑, — ⏑ ⏑, ‖ — ⏑ ⏑, — ⏑.

The varied structure of the verse and the different ways in which single words are distributed into feet bring such a rich variation into the hexameter that the rhythm of the Homeric poems never becomes monotonous, although the same verse is repeated 12,110 times in the Odyssey and 15,693 times in the Iliad.

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RELIGION

THE HOMERIC DIVINITIES

13. Origin of Religious Conceptions. The oldest form of the Greek religion was similar to the nature-worship of the other Indo-European races.[1] Under the title of Zeus (Indo-European *dǐēus*, Sanskrit *dyāus*, Latin *Jū-piter*) the Greeks worshiped the bright sky from which all life, all blessings come. Apollo, his son, signified the bright ray of light which now invigorates, now consumes with heat. Athena is the blue vault of heaven shining serenely out of the clouds. We still recognize this original trinity in the solemn invocation: "O Father Zeus, Athena, and Apollo!" The imagination exalted all natural phenomena to the position of divine beings who were children of the sky-father. The storm wind driving the clouds became the messenger of the gods, Hermes. The moon was Apollo's twin sister, Artemis. The morning and evening stars became the two children of Zeus, Castor and Pollux. The sky of night, ablaze with brilliant stars, was regarded as the majestic consort of the king of gods. The divinities were thought to be enthroned upon the heavenly Mount Olympus. Primitive traditions told of various prehistoric transformations of the world, wrought by earthquakes and floods. The religious im-

[1] Harrington and Tolman, Greek and Roman Mythology, 20.

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agination created a pre-Olympic kingdom of Cronus, who was a personification of endless time.[1] The Titans likewise were divinities of this period. The upheavals of the earth were conceived as battles of the primitive gods with the younger Zeus. Cronus

FIG. 3. OLYMPIAN ZEUS
(From a coin of Elis.)

and his wife Rhea, deprived of their sovereignty, were consigned to Tartarus, which lies as far beneath the world as heaven is above it. They were the parents of Zeus, Hera, Demeter, Poseidon, god of the sea, and Hades, god of the lower world. Among the pre-Olympic divinities were numbered the earth (Gaia), the sun (Helios), Atlas, the father of Calypso, Themis (justice), and the Erinyes, the avengers of wrong.

CRONIDAE

14. Zeus, dwelling in the sky, the loud thunderer, rejoicing in the lightning, brightly shining, the cloud-

[1] So Weissenborn. Rather was Cronus the sun god, who ripened the harvest and caused vegetation to wither; cf. Harrington and Tolman, Greek and Roman Mythology, p. 21.

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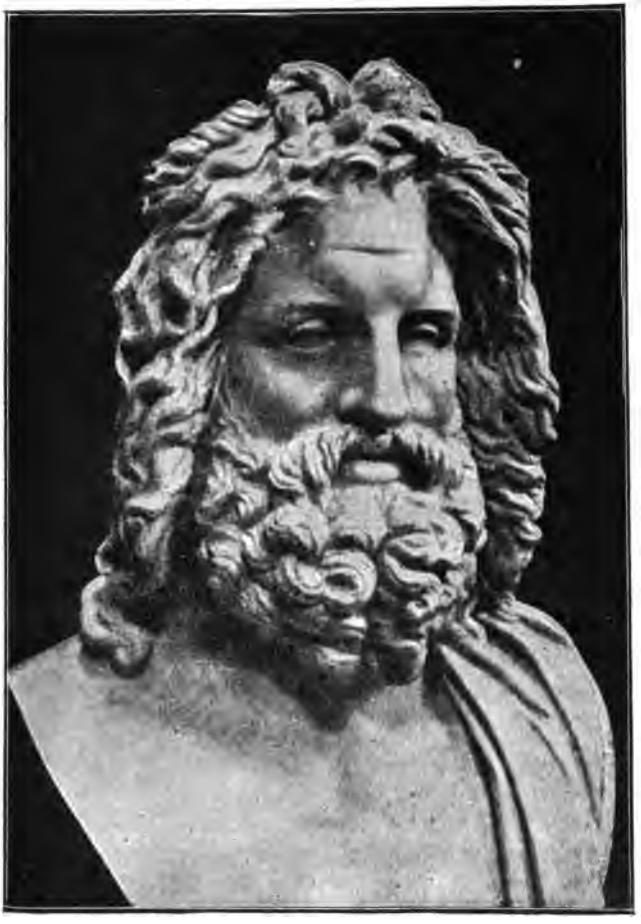

FIG. 4. ZEUS OTRICOLI
(Rome, Vatican.)

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gatherer, cloud-wrapped, the bearer of the aegis (storm shield), is the master of the world, the father of men and gods, the exalted ruler, the supreme counselor, the omnipotent, the omniscient. As lord, he is the protector of all human order, of government, of laws, of the oath, and of hospitality. He is the kind guardian of Zeus-born kings. As god of the family, he receives his sacrifice upon the household altar. As lord of hospitality, he is the special protector of the stranger and the beggar, of the poor and wretched (ζ, 207). Zeus is the source of all revelation. His primitive oracle is at Dodona, in Epirus. He loves to sit upon Gargarus, the highest peak of Mount Ida; his abode is upon Olympus, the mountain of the gods. The eagle circling high in air is sacred to him.[1]

15. Hera is really the glorious sky lighted with stars by night; therefore the peacock, with his motley tail, is sacred to her. As queen of heaven she is the counterpart of Zeus, but in certain respects she is contrasted with him. She was conceived of as a majestic figure, with large features, large eyes, of dazzling whiteness; therefore she is the exalted, the honored goddess, the glorious and adorable wife of Zeus, the golden-throned, beautiful-haired, ox-eyed (majestic-looking) Hera. She is the guardian of marriage;[2] hence her hatred of the woman-stealer, Paris, and his nation. Her favorite cities are Argos, Sparta, and Mycenae (Δ, 51).

16. Demeter is the personification of the fruit-bear-

[1] Harrington and Tolman, Greek and Roman Mythology, 23–28. [2] Ibid., 56.

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ing earth;[1] therefore Homer calls the grain the fruit of Demeter. She is the fair one of beautiful locks. Her daughter by Zeus is Persephone, the goddess of the lower world. The latter's abduction by Hades, the wandering of the mother over the earth in search of her daughter, her abode in Eleusis, and the founding of the Eleusinian mysteries, the secret cult of Demeter, all belong to later tradition.

17. **Hades** appears in Homer as Aïdes and Aïdoneus —*i. e.*, the invisible. He is lord of the underworld, the mighty guardian of the gate (λ, 277), the inexorable, the immovable, the hated god. He is renowned for his steeds, apparently because, according to earlier representation, he carried away the souls of the departed in his chariot. The wife of Hades is Persephone, the death bringer, the daughter of Zeus and Demeter, the awful, fearful, exalted goddess. The Erinyes, the avenging divinities,[2] stand in the service of the gods of the lower world to fulfill the curse upon the offender. They uphold the authority of the elder brother over the younger; they punish the perjurer (T, 260) and the violator of the laws of hospitality; even the gods are subject to their vengeance. In a mysterious manner they rove through the darkness, are inexorable, and visit the wrong-doer with unerring certainty.

18. **Poseidon**, the god of the sea, being the younger son of Cronus, was obliged to relinquish to his elder brother, Zeus, the lordship of the world. He has his palace in the depths of the sea, near Aegae, in Achaia.

[1] Harrington and Tolman, Greek and Roman Mythology, 94. [2] Ibid., 41.

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Whenever in his golden chariot, drawn by golden steeds, he drives over the sea (N, 21), clad in his golden garments, flourishing his golden whip, the waves part of their own accord, so that the axles are not wet, and the monsters of the deep dance with joy around their lord. He is called the widely ruling, the earth-encompassing, black-locked god, the earth shaker, who stirs the sea with his trident (ε, 292), and makes the earth heave (Υ, 57). Ajax, the son of Oïleus, who, on his way home after the sack of Troy, escaped shipwreck upon the Gyraean cliffs on Euboea, was destroyed by him because he had boasted that he would return in spite of the gods (δ, 500). Poseidon, in company with Apollo, is said to have served the Trojan king, Laomedon, in the construction of his wall; being cheated of his reward, he bears a grudge against all the Trojans, with the exception of Aeneas (Φ, 444). The horse was sacred to Poseidon since the leaping waves were compared to horses.[1] The land of the Phaeacians, especially, was called the place of his worship, and here in the marketplace a sanctuary was reared in his honor (ζ, 266). The Cyclops Polyphemus was Poseidon's son, and Charybdis, the frightful, unconquerable monster of the deep (μ, 118), was his daughter. Other sea-divinities are: Amphitrite, the beautiful blue-eyed daughter of the ocean, clearly a personification of the sea itself, consequently described as loud-groaning (μ, 97); Leucothea, who had been changed into a sea goddess, formerly being Ino, the daughter of Cadmus (ε, 334);

[1] Harrington and Tolman, Greek and Roman Mythology, 74.

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Proteus, the infallible old man of the sea, dwelling upon Pharos, an island lying off Egypt (δ, 385,) who is the mighty, godlike servant of Poseidon, knows all the depths of the sea, and can change himself into various forms of life, and even into water and fire; Nereus, the father of the Nereïds, of whom thirty-three are mentioned (Σ, 37). Among these Nereïds is Thetis, the spouse of Peleus and mother of Achilles. She is the daughter of the old man of the sea, and her epithets are silver-footed, beautiful-haired. She concealed Dionysus in her grotto when he fled before Lycurgus (Z, 132), and she received Hephaestus, who, on account of his ugliness, was thrown down by his mother Hera from Olympus (Σ, 395). When Poseidon, Hera, and Athena wished to put Zeus in chains (A, 396), Thetis called upon the giant Aegaeon for help.

Other Olympic Gods: Children of Zeus

19. Apollo, the son of Zeus and Leto, was born at Delos; his altar on that island is mentioned in ζ, 162. He is the personification of the beaming sunlight,[1] Phoebus signifying the shining one, and Apollo the archer. He is called the light-born, the fire darter, the god with the silver bow, the far-worker, and the possessor of the famous bow. As god of light, he reveals the future to men through prophecy. His famous oracle is rocky Pytho (θ, 80) afterwards known as Delphi, rich in votive offerings; from him Calchas and Amphiaraüs received their gift of prophecy

[1] Harrington and Tolman, Greek and Roman Mythology, 49.

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(ο, 244). Since the light of the soul is revealed in poetry, Apollo is also called the god of song (θ, 488), and in his service are the Muses, who inspire the poet. The swift hawk is sacred to him (ο, 525). He also sends gentle death; whoever dies suddenly is smitten by his arrow. Helios, the sun-god, is not identical with Apollo, but, as a Titan, is numbered among the primitive divinities. He is called the god who wanders in mid-air, and is the personification of the sun itself.

20. **Artemis** (the moonlight),[1] the daughter of Zeus and Leto, is Apollo's twin sister. When the cool night wind, driving the clouds across the face of the moon, rustles through the forest, Artemis is engaged in the hunt with the nymphs on the wooded mountain (ζ, 102). She is the arrow-hurling, well-aiming, clamorous goddess of the chase and mistress of the game. On account of the brilliancy of the moonlight she is called the golden-throned goddess, adorned with beautiful head-gear, driving her steeds with golden reins. She is the goddess who brings death to women.

21. **Pallas Athena** the Trito-born, sprung from the head of Zeus, is the blue sky;[2] therefore she is called the bright-eyed daughter of aegis-bearing Zeus. She herself, like Apollo, carries the storm shield, or aegis. From an intellectual standpoint she is the embodiment of divine wisdom, who brings help and victory in times of danger. Consequently she is the good-counseling protectress of shrewd Odysseus and discreet Telema-

[1] Harrington and Tolman, Greek and Roman Mythology, 57. [2] Ibid., 85.

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chus; she gives prudent advice to Achilles (A, 194). In war she always reveals herself as a goddess who incites to battle, and who, combining prudence with valor, leads to victory. The wise hero, Diomedes, is under her protection (E). She is the famous high-spirited goddess, inflaming the people, the bringer of booty, and the protectress of cities. In contrast to her, Ares personifies wild, clamorous warfare.[1] She is depicted as a tall, warlike deity, with helmet, lance, and aegis.

22. Ares, the son of Zeus and Hera, is the god of fierce battle; the fiery, shrieking, storming destroyer of cities, dripping with blood, insatiate in battle, slayer of men. When Diomedes, with the help of Athena, wounds him in the thigh (E, 856), he shrieks like nine or ten thousand men; and when in the conflict between the gods (Φ, 407) he is struck in the neck with a large stone by Athena, falling forward at full length, he covers seven roods of land. Zeus himself calls him the hated god. His favorite dwelling place is among the barbarous tribes of the north (N, 301). In his train follows the bloodthirsty Enyo; therefore he himself is called Enyalios (murderer). The allegorical figures, Fear, Terror, Strife, Tumult, and Death, attend him constantly.[2]

23. Aphrodite, the daughter of Zeus and Dione, is the wife of Hephaestus, and is the goddess of beauty and love. On account of her beauty she is called the golden-beaming, graciously smiling goddess, adorned with beautiful headband. She presents men and

[1] Harrington and Tolman, Greek and Roman Mythology, 116. [2] Ibid., 116.

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women with her gifts, which bring happiness in marriage. But in murderous battle she is a powerless goddess,[1] who is actually seized by Diomedes and wounded in the hand (E, 336); she is struck to the ground by Pallas Athena in the conflict between the gods, when she wished to bear away the wounded Ares (Φ, 425).

24. Hephaestus, the son of Zeus and Hera, on account of his ugliness, was thrown by his mother from Olympus, and was nurtured by the sea goddesses Eurynome and Thetis. Although of powerful frame and broad-shouldered, yet as a result of that fall he had such weak and crooked legs that he moved about with great difficulty. As god of the subterranean fire,[2] he is the smith who made the divine mansions on Olympus (A, 607), the scepter of Agamemnon (B, 100), the carved ornaments in the palace of Alcinoüs (η, 91), and the seats for the gods (Ξ, 238). At the request of Thetis he forged new armor for Achilles. He is called artistic, inventive, strong-armed, but also the crooked-legged, hobbling god, who puffs as he moves about.

25. Hermes, the son of Zeus and Maia, born upon the Arcadian mountain Cyllene, is the messenger of the gods. He accompanies the departed to the underworld.[3] Hence men, when they prepare for bed, pour to him the last libation. As dispenser of blessings and preserver, he protects Odysseus against the charms of Circe by means of the herb *moly* (κ, 302), and he accompanies Priam secretly by night to the tent of

[1] Harrington and Tolman, Greek and Roman Mythology, 105. [2] Ibid., 32, 33. [3] Ibid., 48.

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Achilles (Ω). He is called the close-observing, ready messenger of heaven, and the god with the golden wand. He is represented as a very slender youth, whose beard is just beginning to sprout; his shoes and hat are furnished with wings.

Dionysus, in Homer, is not yet worshiped as a god.

With the twelve deities mentioned above is associated a set of minor divinities: Hebe, the goddess of eternal youth, serves as cupbearer; Iris (the rainbow) is the wind-swift messenger; Themis calls the immortals to the assembly; Paeon is the physician of the gods; the Muses, who inspire the poet, sing to the accompaniment of Apollo's lyre; the Horae (seasons)[1] dissipate the clouds before the gate of heaven whenever a god drives forth in his golden chariot; the early-born, rosy-fingered Eos (the red glow of morning) leads forth the day.

Worship

26. Relation of Man to Deity. Zeus and the other gods care for the pious and the just. The divinities give express warning against plots (α, 37). If through pride men become insolent or unjust, misfortune comes as a punishment (α, 43), since right must prevail. But not every unjust act is to be wholly charged against a man as his own guilt, for often fate and infatuation work together to fulfill the divine plans (Γ, 163; T, 136). Prayer is able to turn aside the vengeance of the gods (I, 502). Mor-

[1] Harrington and Tolman, Greek and Roman Mythology, 115.

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tals are constantly in need of help from heaven (γ, 48), and they do well to regulate their lives according to the divine purpose. The gods gladly help the pious when it is in accord with the will of fate.

27. Sacrifice and Prayer.[1] Men begin all their undertakings with sacrifice and prayer. At every meal there is an offering; sacrifice precedes every journey (β, 432); and before retiring a final libation is poured to Hermes (η, 137). Divine support and protection are implored through prayer and offering. It is customary to remind the god of the many sacrifices which the worshiper has offered to him in the past. By sacrifice men make atonement for sin, or give thanks for help and merciful deliverance from danger.

FIG. 5. THE PRAYING BOY (Berlin.)

Offerings include burnt offerings, drink offerings, and other gifts. Before prayer and sacrifice the hands are cleansed with water. The hands are raised toward the sky when prayer is offered to the heavenly deities; they are stretched out when the divinities of the sea are entreated; and they are extended downward in supplicating the gods of the lower world. The offering of animals is considered a meal of which the gods partake. The animal to be offered must be unblemished. White ones are offered to the heaven-

[1] Harrington and Tolman, Greek and Roman Mythology, 15–18.

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ly divinities, black ones to divinities of the lower world; male animals are sacrificed to gods, female victims to goddesses. Old men perform the rite (A, 457; ξ, 420). On offering the sacrifice (hecatomb) the horns of the bull were gilded (γ, 437). First, grains of barley were sprinkled upon the victim, and hair was cut from its head and thrown into the fire. After the slaughter, slices from the thigh were rolled in double layers of fat, and other raw pieces taken from various parts of the animal were placed upon these as a sign that the whole animal was offered to the gods. These portions of flesh were burned, with libations, upon the altar, that the gods might enjoy the smoke curling upward from the fat. In the meanwhile, boys stirred the fire with five-pronged forks. Every sacrifice was concluded with a feast, at the beginning of which the entrails, heart, liver, and lungs were consumed. Then the rest of the flesh was cut into small pieces, and roasted on spits. After the repast, pages mixed drink in the bowls and filled all the goblets, while a portion was poured on the floor as libation to the gods.

28. Prophecy.[1] Seers and augurs had a clear insight into the action and workings of the gods (A, 70), and endeavored to ascertain the will of heaven. By manifold signs they foretold the future. The seer Calchas knows (A, 94) that the pestilence is a punishment sent by Apollo for the insult offered to the priest Chryses. By the omen of the serpent devouring the eight young sparrows with their mother,

[1] Harrington and Tolman, Greek and Roman Mythology, 19.

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FIG. 6. HERA LUDOVISI
(Rome.)

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the prophet divines the nine-year siege of Troy (B, 322). The future was especially foretold by the flight of birds. When an eagle drops a serpent from his talons in front of the Trojan army as it is advancing against the Greek fleet (M, 200), Polydamas interprets it as a sign of disaster. An eagle bearing off a white goose, in spite of the cries of its pursuers, and flying past the chariot of Telemachus, is a prophecy to Helen that Odysseus will soon return and destroy the suitors (ο, 160). Thunder and lightning from a clear sky are an omen to the Greeks of imminent defeat (Θ, 75). When Penelope, alluding to the insolent conduct of the suitors, wishes for the return of Odysseus, and Telemachus sneezes (ρ, 541), she interprets it as a propitious sign that the beggar's prophecy will be fulfilled. Odysseus (ν, 98) prays for divine assurance that his plans for vengeance may succeed; thereupon, from the blue sky, Zeus sends his thunder, and from a servant's room near by he hears a faithful maid praying that the insolent suitors may to-day, for the last time, enjoy their meal.

29. The Oath. The sacred pledge in which the higher powers were called upon as witnesses was observed even among the gods. Hera swears to Zeus (O, 36), by the earth, heaven, and the Styx, by Zeus's sacred head and her own couch. She swears to the god of sleep (Ξ, 271), by the water of the Styx, touching the earth with one hand and the sea with the other. Calypso swears to Odysseus (ε, 184), by the earth, heaven, and the Styx, that she will truly dismiss him without harm. When the Greeks and Trojans strike a treaty before the duel between Paris and Menelaüs (Γ, 273), Agamemnon cuts the hair from the head of the

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sacrificial animals and distributes it among the princes who are present as witnesses. Then he invokes Zeus, the sun, all the rivers of the land, the earth, and all the avenging Erinyes, to watch over a faithful fulfillment of the compact. After the sacrifice a libation follows, but Priam carried the slaughtered animals back to Troy because it is not permitted to partake of an animal sacrificed in connection with an oath. Odysseus, clad as a beggar, swearing by Zeus, the guest table, and the hearth of Odysseus, gives the swineherd assurance that he will see the return of his master (ξ, 158).

HOMERIC SOCIETY

Public Life

30. The Kingly Power. Among the civilized peoples mentioned in the Homeric poems—such as the Greeks, Trojans, and Phaeacians—we find a patriarchal form of government. At the head stands the king, who rules his people like the father of a family (ε, 12). His sovereignty is derived from Zeus, and the first ancestor is always represented as a son of Zeus himself. Therefore kings are called Zeus-sprung, Zeus-blessed shepherds of the people. The king dwells in a large palace, which surpasses all other abodes in greatness and splendor and which is easily recognized (ζ, 300). In this castle he summons to council the nobles of the people (elders). These meetings are accompanied by a public feast. In the assemblies of the people the king bears a scepter as an outward sign of his station. Agamemnon's scep-

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ter was studded with golden nails (B, 101). The scepter was also carried by the priest, the judge, and every one, in fact, who spoke in council.

The king had among his people the threefold office of priest, judge, and commander. On account of his kingly office distinctive honors were shown him, and he received the revenue of special crown lands; the whole people contributed to the support of his household, and at meals he was served with the choice pieces of food. He, however, had to entertain the elders of the people, to furnish them with old wine, to receive strangers who came seeking help, and to honor them with presents. The cost of these gifts was divided among the people (ν, 13).

31. The Aristocracy. The nobles, elders, leaders, and counselors form the aristocracy. They constitute the court, which, with the king as judge, decides upon all weighty matters before they reach the popular assembly. When summoned to the king's palace they are his table companions. They are also called kings themselves, and can summon him to a council, as the twelve elders among the Phaeacians are accustomed to do. They receive and send out embassies, approve the action of the people, go security for them, and in weighty matters they jointly administer justice.

32. The Middle Class. The middle class embraces the free men with small and independent possessions. They constitute the assembly of the people, the common council, which entertains the proposals of the elders, and they declare their approval of one or the other speaker; but they have no part in rendering decisions. In addition to those who are absolutely free,

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the poems distinguish tenants, who, while personally free, yet enjoy no rights; and laborers, who are hired to the rich.

33. The Slaves. The slaves are either prisoners of war or strangers who have been seized or bought. They are also called dependents, or members of the household, as a sign that they were considered a part of the lord's family. The intimacy between master and servant is expressed in such endearing terms as those with which the swineherd Eumaeus accosts his young master, Telemachus: "Dear child," "Sweet light of my eyes;" while Telemachus, in turn, addresses the old servant as "Dear father." Eumaeus laments the fate of his master more than he could have lamented his own, and he pledges his life to restore his master to power.

Such faithful servants as Eumaeus, Dolius, and Eurycleia acted as overseers and had control over inferior slaves. So four herdsmen were under Eumaeus; Eurycleia superintended fifty maidservants, and Eurynome served under her as housekeeper and chambermaid of Penelope. It was the duty of the slaves to guard and tend the flocks, to manage the fields and gardens, to discharge the household duties, and to perform the more menial services at the table. The female slaves, under the direction of the mistress, tended to the housekeeping, cleaning of the rooms and furniture, washing of the linen, grinding of grain, baking of bread, and feeding of poultry. Maidservants superintended the meals and served the mistress. Two chambermaids were personal attendants of the queen and her daughter. Chambermaids prepared the bed at night. Above all, the slave women had to card and spin the

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wool. The household of Odysseus, including the herdsmen of his many flocks on the mainland and in Ithaca, together with the slaves of the field, garden, and house, probably exceeded one hundred in number.

Private Life

34. The Family. Life in the homes of the Trojan princes, in the palace of Odysseus at Ithaca, and in the royal family of the Phaeacians, presents a beautiful picture of the devotion of wives to their husbands, the tender regard and affection of husbands for their wives, and the reverent love and obedience on the part of children toward their parents. Although the man was naturally the head of the family, yet the wife, in the heroic age, held such a distinguished position that Helen, who had been carried away by Paris, was treated with the tenderest regard by the aged Priam and her brother-in-law, Hector. Arete was so loved and honored by her husband, Alcinoüs, that whoever sought the help of the king did well to win the intercession of the queen. Brothers cannot act more lovingly and kindly than did the sons of Alcinoüs toward their sister. Odysseus extols matrimonial harmony as the greatest happiness (ζ, 182). The noblest example of such conjugal affection is that of Odysseus and Penelope themselves. Love and fidelity of the wife form the fundamental thought of the whole Odyssey. Odysseus, in spite of the delight of companionship with Calypso, cannot forget his wife and home, but is drawn to Ithaca by an ardent yearning.

35. Marriage. Marriage was a holy thing, and any violation of it was followed by severe punishment.

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The royal house of Priam, once so happy and dominant, his city and his people, had to atone with their ruin for the rape of Helen by Paris. In the assembly of the gods, at the beginning of the Odyssey, Zeus himself points out how the bloody fate of Aegisthus came upon him as a punishment for disloyalty to his marital vows. The love of a wife for her husband cannot be more deeply, more sincerely, or more comprehensively expressed than by the words which Andromache spoke to Hector as he was going into battle: "Since the death of my parents and of my brothers and sisters, and since the destruction of my home, you, O Hector, have been father, mother, and brother to me." The marriage of Zeus and Hera forms a striking contrast to this domestic peace and happiness. Hera often disagrees with her husband, and threats of violence are necessary to bring her to submission. This is a reminiscence of the primitive mythical signification of Zeus and Hera as personifications of the bright sky by day and the starry sky by night, which were naturally conceived of as standing in contrast to each other.

36. The Marriage Ceremony. Originally the bride was purchased from her father, and a maiden with many suitors brought much cattle. Yet it is important that the bridegroom be acceptable to her, so that, on the whole, he seems to be the man chosen and appointed by fate. It was customary to give the young couple a dowry.

The marriage celebration was accompanied by a brilliant feast, to which relatives and neighbors were invited in great numbers. Singers struck the lute, and jugglers, keeping time to the music, performed

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FIG. 7. DEMETER OF CNIDUS
(British Museum.)

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all kinds of entertaining tricks. Those who conducted the bride from the home of her parents to that of her husband were furnished with garments for the occasion. The bride also received costly apparel from the bridegroom; hence it happens that Helen presents to Telemachus a beautiful dress for his future bride. By torchlight the train moved through the city, while those who took part in the festival sang the marriage song (ὑμέναιος, Σ, 493), and the young people circled in the dance to the music of flutes and lyres.

37. **The Housewife** conducted the household affairs, and had the supervision of slave women. The special task of women was the weaving of garments, and those were praised who were skillful in artistic work. We read (Γ, 125) that Helen wove into her cloth the man-destroying battles of the Trojans and the Achaeans. Of the Phaeacian women it is said (ζ, 110) that they were skilled in artistic weaving. The women usually staid in the interior of the house, and preferred to remain for rest and recreation in the upper chamber; but they also associated with the men in the men's hall. Arete is actually present at the assembly of the elders in the megaron (ζ, 305); Penelope weaves in the hall with her wooers, and there spends the evening (ρ, 96). Helen takes great interest in the conversation of Menelaüs with Telemachus and Pisistratus. Yet, as soon as a woman from a royal family appears in public, or comes before men in important matters, she is veiled and is accompanied by two female servants.

38. **Children,** while they were yet young, were under the supervision of the mother. Later they

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were placed under suitable servants, to be practically instructed for subsequent life. The sons gave all kinds of help and service in the sacrifices and the feasts; they turned the spits, passed the food, mixed the wine and water in bowls, filled the goblets and passed them around. Children, while growing up, also helped in the household duties. Nausicaä, in place of her mother, attended to the washing of the linen, but her brothers kindly helped her when they returned home. Telemachus cared for the garden of the aged Laërtes and the herds of Eumaeus, and Paris remained with the flocks on Mount Ida. Special attention was given to the instruction of the growing youth in all kinds of bodily exercise—running, wrestling, throwing the discus, contesting with weapons, driving, and, above all, in dancing, singing, playing of the lyre, and the practice of speaking in public. Children felt deeply their indebtedness to their parents; therefore Telemachus grieves that he cannot repay his father's love (π, 120).

39. Squires. As in the Middle Ages the noble youth followed the knight on his adventures, so likewise among the Homeric heroes there existed a comradeship in arms. These squires, who had often been reared from childhood with the son of a prince, accompanied the hero into battle, where they served as chariot drivers and stood by, ready to give help in the contest. Sometimes such a comrade was older than his master, and was given by the father to the young son of the prince as guide and counselor. The love and loyalty which bound these companions together is seen in the relation of Achilles to Patroclus.

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The Rights of Strangers

40. Piracy.[1] Although it was felt to be a duty to assist a fellow-countryman in distress, yet strangers and foreigners were considered enemies whom one might rob, buy as slaves, or kill. For this reason piracy and robbery were of common occurrence and not at all dishonorable; in this respect they may be compared to the disorders caused by the robber-knights of the Middle Ages. It was customary to ask strange seamen whether they were pirates or merchants. Taphians robbed a rich Phoenician of his daughter (ο, 427) and sold her in the Syrian isle, where the father of Eumaeus was king. When the Phoenician merchants landed there, this slave woman carried away the little Eumaeus, and after her death he was sold to Laërtes in Ithaca. Odysseus himself, after the sack of Troy, made without cause a predatory incursion against the Cicones.

41. Hospitality. Although no custom, based on international law, protected the stranger, yet he stood, according to religious belief, under the special protection of Hospitable Zeus. Even if the stranger appears as a pitiful beggar, he cannot be driven away (ξ, 56), for all strangers and beggars are sent by Zeus, and even the smallest gift is welcome (ζ, 207). Hospitable Zeus himself is their avenger (ι, 270). Only barbarous people, cannibals, such as the Cyclopes and the Laestrygones, violate this divine law. Among all civilized men mistreatment of a stranger was considered a disgraceful act. On that account the inso-

[1] Tsountas and Manatt, Mycenaean Age, pp. 354, 355

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lent conduct of the suitors reached its highest point, bringing upon them the punishment of heaven, when their leaders, Antinoüs and Eurymachus (ρ, 462), so shamefully treated the beggar Odysseus. This law demanded that one should conduct the stranger into his home, take the staff from his hand, and give him the place of honor at his side. If he came from a journey, a bath was prepared for him before the meal (δ, 48). In any case, he was furnished with water that he might wash his hands. Afterwards he was hospitably entertained, and the host offered the drink of welcome. Not until after the meal was the stranger asked his name, his country, or the purpose of his coming. He was harbored as long as he cared to remain. Before his departure he was honored with guest-presents, and whenever it was necessary he was given escort. Hospitality between families became in this manner a lasting bond which extended to posterity. So Glaucus and Diomedes avoided conflict when they learned of the hospitality existing between their families, a pledge which they renewed by mutual gifts (Z, 235).

42. The Suppliant, who, pursued by an enemy, clasped the knees of the one he met, or who, having entered a house, fell down upon the hearth, stood under the special protection of Zeus; to help him was a sacred duty. Hence Nausicaä was ready to give Odysseus food and clothing and to accompany him to the city, telling him how he might procure from her father help and escort home. When the suppliant had thrown himself beside the hearth in the hall, the oldest of the elders asked King Alcinoüs to let the

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stranger arise and to show him a seat at the princely table. On account of their sacredness, the hearth and the guest-table were coupled in the oath with the name of Zeus. Only insolent men, such as the goatherd Melantheus, violated this custom, and thereby incurred the vengeance of the Erinyes (ρ, 212). Even the professional beggar Irus receives his regular alms (σ, 1).

43. Forms of Social Intercourse. The Greeks, by reason of their high state of culture and their innate appreciation of beauty, had developed natural courtesy and polite forms of intercourse. When Zeus enters the assembly, the gods all arise and remain standing until he has taken his seat (A, 533). When Telemachus sees Athena present in the form of Mentes (α, 119), he considers it improper to keep a stranger standing before his door, steps up to him, extends his hand, receives his spear, bids him welcome, and begs him to accept friendly attention and hospitality; finally he asks him to explain what has brought him thither. In the third book of the Odyssey Telemachus comes to Pylos in company with Athena, who is disguised as Mentor. When Athena bids Telemachus to go directly to Nestor, he hesitates; it is not fitting that he, a young man, should address an older one. But as soon as the Pylians perceive the strangers they hasten to them. When Telemachus tarries with Eumaeus (π, 44), and the beggar offers him his seat, Telemachus refuses it with the words: "Keep your seat, stranger; I will find a chair somewhere else." Deference should be paid an older per-

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son; therefore Mentor is the first to be served with the drink of welcome (γ, 50). On departing Odysseus turns to the queen with the wish that long life may be allotted to her, and that she may enjoy unperturbed happiness with her family and her people (ν, 69).

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FIG. 8. POSEIDON
(Rome, Lateran.)

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HOMERIC ANTIQUITIES

The Homeric House

44. The Plan of the House.[1] As we learn from the excavations at Tiryns, the prince's palace, with its walls, formed the strong fortress which afforded protection in case of war for all those dwelling around it. A protecting wall (1), provided with battlements, inclosed the palace. A covered hallway, closed in the middle with two broad doors, constituted the entrance to the court; while two columns, before and behind the gate, probably supported the protecting roof (2).

Through this front gate one passed into a spacious court, the council place of the elders (3). The larger assemblies were held in the market place (ρ, 52). The court had a smooth stone floor (ρ, 169), and served as a place of recreation for the suitors. Here stood an altar to Zeus (4), the protector of the court. Near the palace were several seats of polished stone for the princes. Over these seats, clear across the front of the palace, extended a broad, covered hallway (5), supported by columns. The entrance to the palace itself was formed by a narrow vestibule situated in the middle and supported by two columns (6); through the doors of this vestibule one came into the great men's hall. The columns, with their niches, served to hold the spears. The hall or megaron (7) was built in the form of a rectangle; its high roof rested upon four columns (9), which stood within, forming a smaller rec-

[1] Tsountas and Manatt, Mycenaean Age, pp. 44–50. 55–66.

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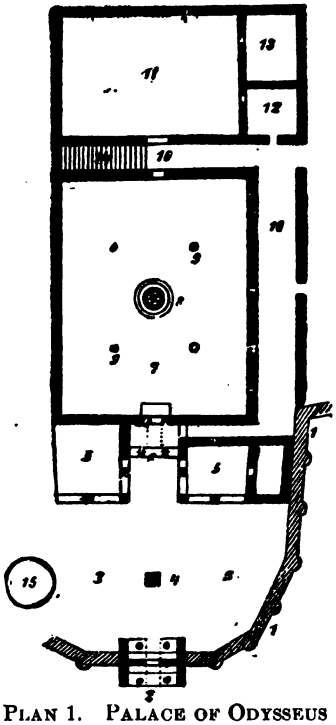
tangle, and extending above the height of the hall. In the middle stood a large hearth (8), the place of refuge for all fugitives. Directly opposite the entrance was the back door, from which a passage (10)



PLAN 1. PALACE OF ODYSSEUS

led to the women's apartment (11). In this back part of the house was also situated the bath-room (12), for Telemachus and Theoclymenus laid aside their clothing in the men's hall (ρ, 86) in order to go up to the bath. Through the same back door Penelope was ac-

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customed to enter the megaron. Here was her seat (ρ, 97) when she spun wool and listened to the report of Telemachus after he returned home from his journey. Over the women's apartment rose an upper story containing a room for the princess and a chamber in which the bow of Odysseus was kept; a stairway (14) in the passage led thither. In the extreme rear of the palace lay the prince's bedchamber (13).

In addition to a postern door, the hall of Odysseus had in the right-hand wall a so-called raised door (ὀρσοθύρη), which was approached by steps; it led into a long passage which extended all along the right of the hall, then around the corner, and here it could be closed by means of a door. Across this passage, on the right-hand side, were located many chambers for the maidservants, the arms, and the treasures of Odysseus. This part of the castle must have formed a large right wing; for when Eumaeus stands before the door of the outer court, accompanied by Odysseus, who is disguised as a beggar, the latter remarks that the house is easily recognized as a prince's abode, since one building is joined to another (ρ, 266).

Accordingly, we may picture the palace of Odysseus as containing a main central portion embracing the prince's court together with the wide vestibules, the men's hall, the women's apartment, the bath-room, the bedroom, and an upper story; while the right wing held chambers for the servants and other miscellaneous apartments. A left wing inclosed the mills, the stalls for the cattle and mules, as well as the barnyard.

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45. The Interior of the Palace.[1] The floor consisted of hard-packed mortar, and the walls had a coating of whitewash. Sometimes, in the front hall and on the walls of the men's chamber, bronze plates were fastened (η, 86). In the hall of Alcinoüs, along the walls there ran a cornice of blue-glass paste, called *kyanos*, which was prepared at the Egyptian factories in great quanties, and was distributed by the Phoeni-

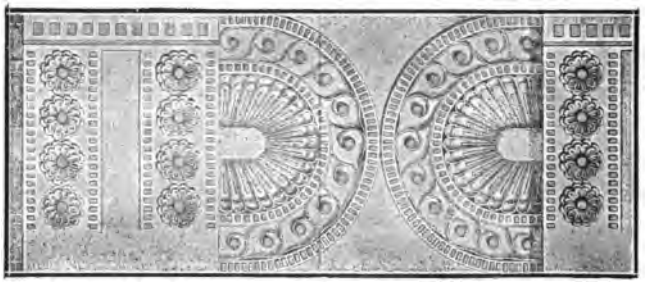

FIG. 9. KYANOS FRIEZE FROM PALACE AT TIRYNS

cian traders throughout the world. This frieze often contained geometrical figures, rosettes, and spirals. Sometimes large paintings covered the walls; thus the hall at Tiryns showed a bull dashing along, with a driver springing upon his back. The doors in rich princely abodes were covered with gold plate, while the door posts and lintels were covered with silver plate. The halls and the rooms received light through apertures formed by the roof beams, which were placed diagonally across each other, with large intervening spaces. For this reason the men's hall was better lighted because the four columns supporting

[1] Tsountas and Manatt, Mycenaean Age, pp. 50–55.

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the upper roof, and the roof timber, rising, as it did, above the rest of the hall, left free an upper row of apertures, which extended around all four sides. Since the smoke of the hearth and the torches kindled in the evening passed off through these spaces,

FIG. 10. THE TIRYNS BULL
(Fresco from Palace.)

the timbers, and especially the middle crossbeams, were blackened with smoke and soot. The doors were fastened with wooden bars, which were raised from the outside by means of a hook stuck through a hole, and which were firmly secured to a door ring with a thong.

46. Furniture.[1] The tables were small and of polished wood; one was set before each guest. When not in use, the top could be folded back and the table placed against the wall. There were armchairs provided with backs and foot rests, as well as chairs

[1] Tsountas and Manatt, Mycenaean Age, pp. 67–82.

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without arms, round easy-chairs, and simple stools. The chairs were of turned and polished wood, and often studded with silver nails or adorned with various kinds of inlaid work. There were also certain small footstools, such as were hurled at Odysseus by Antinoûs (ρ, 462) and Eurymachus (σ, 394).

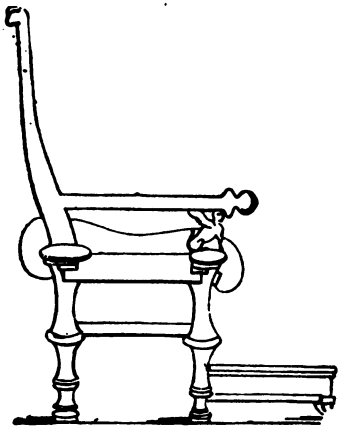

FIG. 11. ARMCHAIR

At evening, in the hall of Odysseus, three high metal lamps filled with resinous pine wood were lighted.

The bedstead consisted of a wooden frame, made of four strips in the form of an oblong rectangle, resting upon four legs of turned wood. In both sides many holes were bored, through which thongs were drawn for the support of the bedding. Soft cushions, with bright purple coverings, were placed upon the couch. Over these a thick spread or linen cloth was thrown. Large woolen covers, in which one could

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completely envelop himself, served as blankets. Such was the arrangement in the princely families.

In the home of the swineherd Eumaeus everything was simple. He improvised a seat for Odysseus (ξ, 50) by heaping up soft, thick foliage and spreading over it a shaggy goatskin. Such a skin he also laid upon the bedstead (ξ, 519) in order to make the couch soft.

Clothing and Mode of Life

47. Weaving. The materials were prepared by the

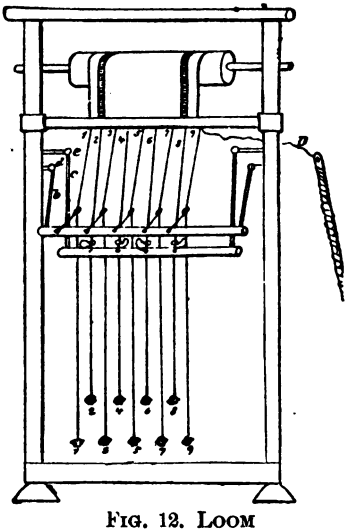

Fig. 12. Loom

wife and the slave women. After the wool had been carded by the maidservants (M, 433; σ, 316), it was spun into thread by means of the spindle. In this process the left hand held the distaff, while the right

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hand turned the spindle made of reeds and the stone spindle rings held down the threads. Weaving also was the work of the women. The loom stood upright. The two warps were moved backwards and forwards by moving crossbars, and while the weaver walked before the loom, the shoot-thread was drawn through by means of a shuttle.

48. The Dress of the Men.[1] The man's clothing consisted of a coat, which was made of linen. The warrior wore underneath his armor a similar garment, made of strong material. Out of doors a large four-cornered, variegated woolen cloth was thrown around the shoulders. This was sometimes trimmed with embroidery. It was fastened about the breast with a buckle. Odysseus (τ, 225) wore a purple woolen cloak of double fold, fastened in front by an artistic golden clasp. The coat underneath was of a bright yellow color, and clung with its fine texture to his body, so that the women were accustomed to gaze upon him with admiration. Another cloak is mentioned, which Agamemnon dons when he goes to the assembly of the princes (B, 43). Odysseus covered his head with such a cloak (θ, 84) in order to conceal his tears. Beautiful sandals were worn upon the feet. Laërtes, the aged father of Odysseus, wore, as a protection against thorns while working in the hedge, leather gloves, leather leggings, and a goat-skin cap.

49. The Dress of the Women.[2] The close linen dress reached to the feet, and was held together at

[1] Tsountas and Manatt, Mycenaean Age, pp. 159–167.
[2] Ibid., pp. 169–190.

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the shoulder and left side by means of a brooch; therefore the women were spoken of as wearing long garments. Often the dress was colored, for it is described as variegated, and the women are said to have beautiful garments or saffron garments. The arms and the ankles remained free. The dress was held together by means of a girdle, which was sometimes set with gold and ornaments of all kinds; therefore the women are called "beautifully girdled." In public they wore large bright veils, which they drew before their faces when conversing with men. The headdress consisted of a diadem or golden fillet over the hair. They also adorned themselves with necklaces consisting of several rows of amber and gold pieces fastened together. They wore bands, which closely encircled the neck, like metal collars. The buckles often consisted of two circles of closely laid spirals, and to the earrings were attached three little balls or a golden berry. The clasp with which Odysseus fastened his mantle was a double brooch adorned on top with a beautiful hunting scene in which a dog has just seized a fawn.

50. The Three Meals were breakfast, dinner, and supper.[1] Eumaeus and Odysseus prepared their breakfast by roasting meat left over from the preceding day, with which they ate bread and drank sweet wine (π, 46–60). Dinner likewise consisted of bread and roasted meat. The bread was served in many pieces in a small basket. The meat was cut into thin strips, sprinkled with salt and meal, and roasted on spits which rested on a stone support and

[1] Tsountas and Manatt, Mycenaean Age, p. 69.

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had to be turned rapidly back and forth above the coals. There were no knives and forks, but food was carried to the mouth with the fingers. After the guests had washed their hands, each took his place at his respective table (α, 136). Then the housekeeper brought in the little baskets of bread, and the carver served meat of many kinds. It is evident that, in ad-

FIG. 13. GOLD CUP FROM MYCENAE

dition to the roast meat, they ate fruits and vegetables, for frequent mention is made of many kinds of food. The servant brought wine mixed with water, in a golden cup. The attendants and pages superintended the preparation and serving of meals. The large mixing bowls, in which the pages mixed the wine with water, were metal—sometimes silver with a golden rim (ο, 105; Ψ, 743). In addition to the small golden goblets, large double-handled drinking vessels, artistically wrought, were used on special occasions.

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The heavy drinking cup of Nestor (Λ, 632), in which he offers the wounded physician Machaon the refreshing wine mixture, was studded with golden nails, and had on both sides, above the handles, a pair of doves pecking at the edge.[1] Every meal began and ended with a libation. A friend's health was drunk, and greeting was given him, while the goblet was held in the right hand (σ, 122). Eumaeus slew two young pigs as a dinner for himself and Odysseus (ξ, 74), and, having roasted the meat, sprinkled it with white meal. A large dish served him as a mixing bowl, but his goblet was of wood. Besides the daily meals, there were also great banquets at special festivals—such as the sacrificial meal at the close of the hecatomb (A, 431), the wedding feast in the home of Menelaüs (δ, 3), the funeral repast which Orestes prepared for the Argives (γ, 309) after he had slain his cousin Aegisthus and his mother, Clytemnestra, the murderers of his father, Agamemnon. The daily feastings of the suitors were prolonged so as to force Penelope, through this wasting of the king's substance, to make a choice.

51. The Chariot. The two-horse chariot is most frequently mentioned in the Homeric poems.[2] The two-wheeled chariot, with a semicircular seat mounted by means of a step, was used both for traveling and for war. The seat accommodated two persons. Upon a chariot of this kind Nestor's son, Peisistratus, drives Telemachus to Sparta (γ, 483) and back (ο, 182). On a high, well-wheeled wagon, drawn by two mules,

[1] Tsountas and Manatt, Mycenaean Age, p. 100.

[2] Reichel, Homerische Waffen, pp. 120–146.

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FIG. 14. APOLLO BELVIDERE
(Rome, Vatican.)

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Nausicaä carries the washing to the stone wash troughs by the seashore (ζ, 72). This vehicle had four wheels and a large frame. The animals, which were horses, mules, or oxen, wore a yoke. This, being fastened to the pole with a pin, extended over

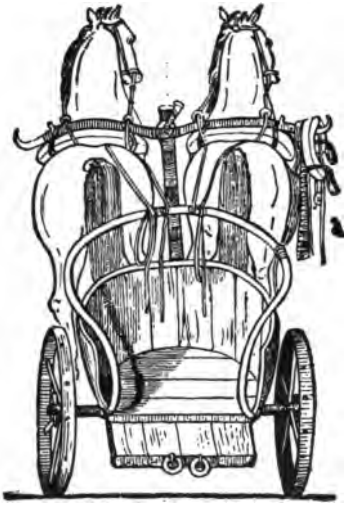

FIG. 15. WAR CHARIOT

their necks and encircled them with its two hanging bows. The reins were fastened to the back of the bit, which was frequently richly adorned with painted ivory (Δ, 141). The horses often wore frontlets ornamented with gold.

52. Armor.[1] The simplest outfit of an old hero consisted of a helmet, a long shield, a sword, and two lances. The long shield, which covered the entire body

[1] Tsountas and Manatt, Mycenaean Age, pp. 191–216.

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like a tower, made the breastplate and greaves superfluous in the earliest times.[1] When in place of the long shield, such as Ajax the son of Telamon bore, the smaller round shield came into use, the warrior protected himself with cuirass and greaves.

The helmet was a head-piece, which left the face free. It was made of leather, and was trimmed with metal. It had a bronze edge, or rim, ornamented with four metal knobs; while on top a bronze cone carried a waving horse tail crest. There were also helmets entirely of bronze, covered over with numerous inter-

FIG. 16. THE WARRIOR VASE FROM MYCENAE

woven rings, as well as mere head-pieces without crests.[2] The shield consisted of several layers of ox-hide, which were bordered with a bronze rim and bound together with bronze rivets. It was sometimes ornamented with strips or covered entirely with metal. The long shield was hung by a leather strap over the left shoulder, and was controlled by the left hand, which grasped the handle on the inside. It was so heavy that its handling required great

[1] Reichel, Homerische Waffen, pp. 1-50.
[2] Ibid., pp. 94–112.

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strength and skill, and made it necessary for the wearer to advance cautiously (N, 158; Π, 609). Agamemnon's shield was very skillfully wrought (Λ, 32). The shield of Achilles, forged by the god Hephaestus (Σ, 478), was the most artistic work of its kind.[1] A triple brilliantly shining rim encircled it. It consisted of five layers. Beautiful scenes adorned the surface. Heaven, earth, and the sea were represented. In the middle was heaven, with the shining sun and the other luminaries, the full moon and the constellations. Then, in the following circles, were scenes from the earth. First were two towns—one in peace, with feasting and a marriage procession passing through the streets, and a lawsuit in progress at the market place; the other engaged in war, with an attack on cattle at a river, and a conflict between two armies at its banks. Then came a circle depicting three scenes of country life at different seasons of the year: the plowing of the fields, the harvest, and the vintage. The next circle presented three pastoral scenes: a herd of cattle, a flock of sheep, and a shepherds' dance. Finally, the ocean stream formed the outermost circle of the shield.

The sword was made of bronze. It was long and two-edged. It had a hilt sometimes skillfully wrought of silver, or studded with silver nails, and a sheath of silver or ivory. Agamemnon's sword (N, 30) is described as having a hilt brilliant with golden nails, and a silver sheath fastened to a golden belt.

The strong, heavy lance had a shaft of ash wood, with a bronze point at each end. The short point at

[1] Reichel, Homerische Waffen, pp. 146-165.

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the lower end enabled one to stick the lance in the ground beside him. Since the lance was very long (Z, 319, actually eleven cubits), it was often spoken of as "long shadowing." It was kept in a case (T, 387).

The small round shield, like the long one, was made of hides encircled by a metal rim and fastened with metal nails. Then, too, we find targets—small circular shields, with dependent strips of leather—which served to weaken the force of the missiles. It was through the introduction of the round shield that the breastplate came into use. Underneath the armor was worn a close-fitting woolen jacket without sleeves.

FIG. 17. BREASTPLATE

The breastplate consisted of leather, upon which were fastened curved metal plates.[1] On the back-piece

[1] Reichel, Homerische Waffen, pp. 63–94.

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there were shoulder bands fitted with thongs, which were tightly bound to the belt. The lower part of the body was protected by means of a belt of metal plate padded with wool and buckled over the underclothing. To the breastplate was attached the apron, formed of dangling strips of leather ornamented with metal, which covered the belt and extended halfway down the upper part of the leg. Where the breastplate and the apron joined a still broader girdle was worn, which was fastened in front by clasps. It is said of the breastplate of Agamemnon (Λ, 24) that it consisted of ten strips of steel, twelve of gold, twenty of tin, and there arose on either side of his neck three steel serpents, which glittered with all the colors of the rainbow. The greaves—at first probably leather gaiters, such as Laërtes wore when working in his garden (ω, 229)—were made of flexible tin, and were fastened over the ankle by means of leather straps.[1]

The bow in the hands of good archers, such as Paris, Pandarus, Teucer, and Odysseus, was a formidable weapon;[2] but even whole tribes were armed with the bow, such as the inhabitants of the Thessalian peninsula, Magnesia, the companions of Philoctetes, and the Paeonians, who fought on the side of the Trojans. The famous bow of Pandarus (Δ, 105) was made of the horns of an ibex, which were sixteen hands broad. It was polished by the turner and set with tips of gold. The string was fastened at one end, and was stretched and bound fast in a ring at the other.

The arrow[3] was of reed, and had a barbed bronze

[1] Reichel, Homerische Waffen, pp. 57–62.
[2] Ibid., pp. 112–120. [3] Ibid., pp. 115, 116.

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FIG. 18. ARTEMIS OF VERSAILLES
(Louvre.)

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tip. On the other end there was a notch, which was fitted on the cord. Often on this end there was also a feather inserted obliquely. The quiver for the arrows was furnished with a cover.

The archer endeavored to find a sheltered place. Thus Teucer took his stand beneath the shield of his brother (Θ, 267), and Paris (Λ, 371) sought refuge behind the tombstone of Ilus. But archers sometimes bore the light targets or round shields with dependent leather strips.

Slings were carried by the Locrians. They were woven out of sheep's wool (N, 599).

Mention is made also of hatchets and battle-axes, which were used in hand-to-hand conflicts (O, 711).

We find that huge stones, as large as the hand could grasp, were hurled with immense force against the shield of the antagonist; such Hector used against Ajax (H, 264), and Ajax against Hector (H, 270).

Warfare

53. The Duel. The kinds of contest mentioned in the Iliad are the duel and the battles of the armies. In the duel of Paris and Menelaüs the attack falls by lot to Paris (Γ, 325). He hurls his spear upon the shield of Menelaüs, but to no purpose, for its point is bent. The lance of Menelaüs pierces the shield, breastplate, and coat of Paris, and would have wounded him in the abdomen had he not avoided the fatal blow by quickly turning to one side. Hereupon Menelaüs threw his sword against his opponent, but it was broken into many pieces upon his helmet. Full of rage, he sprang upon Paris, seized him by the helmet, and dragged him toward the Achaeans. Then

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the chin-piece of his helmet broke, and Aphrodite rescued her favorite and carried him away from the battlefield. As the first day of battle began with a duel, so it ended with a fight between Hector and Ajax (H, 206).

54. Conflicts between Champions usually opened the battle. Antilochus, at the beginning of the engagement, slew the Trojan Echepolus (Δ, 457). When the Greek Elephenor dragged forth Echepolus in order to strip him of his armor, he was stabbed by the Trojan Agenor, and thereupon followed a general conflict between the champions. Ajax overthrew the Trojan Simoïsius. Antiphus, the son of Priam, hurled his spear at Ajax, and missed him, but struck Leucus, the champion of Odysseus, as he was on the point of dragging Simoïsius away. Filled with anger, Odysseus rushed through the champions and laid low Demacoön, the illegitimate son of Priam. Then the Trojan champions under Hector fell back, and the Greeks, with shouts of triumph, dragged the fallen over to their side, and pressed forward. Naturally the bravest advanced as champions. Springing down from their war chariots, they took their places in front of the horses. It was the duty of the driver to remain as close as possible to his companion in the fight, to assist and rescue him in case he was wounded. Diomedes, as a champion (E, 13), did not shrink from advancing against the mounted sons of the priest Dares, slew Phegeus, put Idaeus to flight, and took their span of horses as booty. When the Greek champions slew all their opponents, the whole line of Trojans took to flight (Π, 306–357). Thus we see

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FIG. 19. APHRODITE OF MELOS
(Louvre.)

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that the decision of the battle rested largely upon the valor of the champions.

55. The General Engagement. The general engagement (Δ, 446; Θ, 60) was at its height when both armies, with several detachments of closely crowded troops, rushed at each other. Touching one another with their shields and helmets, they stood in as close contact as when a man builds a wall with close-set stones (Π, 212). These densely crowded troops of the Myrmidons fell into five divisions, under five leaders. They were under the command of Patroclus, with his chariot driver, Automedon. Before sallying forth, Achilles had poured from a cup of rare beauty a libation to Dodonian Zeus, in order that the battle might result favorably. The war cry of the leader gave the signal for battle. With closed ranks they rushed upon the Trojans, who turned to flight. Patroclus, first of all, laid low Pyrachmes, the leader of the Paeonians, and drove the enemy back out of reach of the ships. While among the other Greek troops the battle was broken up into many single combats, Patroclus broke through the line of the Trojans and forced the men back toward the ships, in order to slay them between the Scamander river and the fleet; and with his own hand he killed very many of them.

The Homeric Ship

56. The Shipbuilder first laid the timbers for the keel; upon this he fastened the prow and the stern. Then the ribs were attached to the keel and bound together at the top by transverse timbers. The planks were nailed lengthwise on the ribs. A portion of the ship's prow, which had an ornamental de-

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sign, was covered; so also a part of its stern, in order that on this deck the helmsman might manage the rudder. On the timbers which bound the ribs together the oarsmen sat, with their feet placed against a brace, and pulled the oars, which were bound by means of straps to the oar-locks. The mast of fir-wood stood in the middle of the ship, set into a base and held upright by means of transverse timbers. By the removal of a cross-beam the mast could be laid back over the stern; it was bound firmly to the prow by two ropes in front. A cord, which ran from

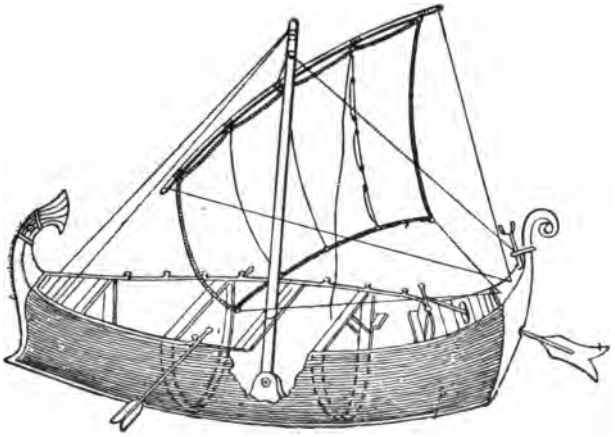

FIG. 20. SHIP

the stern up through a hole in the top of the mast, raised the sail-yard. Both ends of the yard were fastened with ropes (braces) to the stern. From the yard hung the sail, which was secured to the stern by means of two cords (clew-lines). A ship was manned by about fifty oarsmen. Its sides were black-

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ened with pitch, the prow was covered on either side with red lead, while the bow was often blue. The ship was drawn upon the shore by means of long poles provided with hooks. Long poles, consisting of several pieces fastened together with bands, were used on board for weakening the shock of collision with other ships. Heavy stones fastened to ropes served as anchors. The ship was made fast to the shore with special cables from its stern. It was desirable to keep as close to the land as possible, and at night the sailors preferred to sleep on the shore. Before landing the mast was lowered and the ship was rowed to the shore.

57. The Barge of Odysseus got its form from the sections, which consisted of four timbers—two fas-

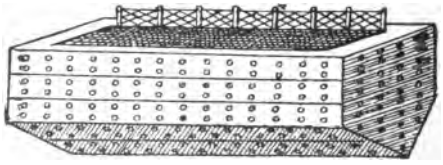

FIG. 21. BARGE OF ODYSSEUS

tened in the shape of an angle, and two standing upright on the sides of this angle. Many such frames fastened together with long side timbers formed the hull of the barge, which therefore had the shape of a trough with sloping floor. The equipment with mast, yard, sail, rudder, braces, and clew-lines, was the same as that of the ship.

BUSINESS, TRADE, SPORT, AND AMUSEMENT

58. Trade in the earliest times was a lively barter, and was carried on especially by the Phoenicians. It

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is related of them (o, 416) that as a cheating people they carried with them countless trinkets; that they consumed a whole year in selling their wares and in loading again their ship with provisions; that on their departure they carried off a Sidonian slave girl, together with the little son of the chief. Athena, in the form of Mentes, the prince of the Taphians, asserts (a, 184) that the ship bears bright iron, and that he will dig for copper in Cyprus. The Taphians are mentioned as slave-dealers (v, 383). Besides the Phoenicians, the Cretans and the Phaeacians were seamen. Money consisted chiefly of cattle and of bronze and slaves. The bronze armor of Diomedes is worth nine head of cattle (Z, 236), and the gold armor of Glaucus is worth a hundred. The slave girl Eurycleia was worth twenty head of cattle (a, 431), and for the price of one hundred cattle Achilles had sold Lycaon, the captive son of Priam (Φ, 79).

59. **Industrial Activity**, which produced those trinkets handled by the sea traders, had already reached a high stage of perfection in the Mycenaean age, as the excavations show. The long necklaces of the women have already been mentioned above. On one chain we find pieces of amber in a gold setting upon which a meander pattern is engraved. Neckbands, spiral brooches, earrings with cup-shaped ornaments, and needles, all show a well-developed technique.[1] The arms—shields, breastplates, belts, swords, and knives—are even more artistically decorated. The dagger blades show inlaid work which consists of lifelike representations of lion hunts and combats with other

[1] Tsountas and Manatt, Mycenaean Age, pp. 179, 180.

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FIG. 22. INLAID DAGGER BLADE FROM MYCENAE

animals.[1] The Sidonians, especially, were famed on account of their skill, and the products of their industry were used in trade. Menelaüs presented Telemachus with a costly silver milk pitcher with golden rim, which came from Sidon (δ, 618). Likewise the one which Achilles offers as a prize (Ψ, 743) is of Sidonian workmanship. Bright garments, trimmed with the variegated embroidery of the Sidonian women, were highly prized. Paris brought from Phoenicia to Troy Sidonian women weavers, and the most beautiful of the Sidonian garments which they produced were vowed by Queen Hecuba to the goddess Athena of Ilios (Z, 289). A beautiful garment, with variegated embroidery, was presented by Helen to Telemachus for his future bride, on his departure from Sparta (ο, 105).

[1] Tsountas and Manatt, Mycenaean Age, pp. 200, 201.

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U... SITY

60. Artists, in the most comprehensive sense, included the builders. They probably had already, in earliest times, organized a close guild with peculiar traditions and regulations in art, in the same manner as the seers, the physicans, and the singers. Therefore they were often summoned from a distance, and were honored as public officials (ρ, 383). Such a school, with its well-established rules of construction, is attested by the uniformity in plan of the royal palaces at Tiryns and Mycenae, as well as the description of the palace of Odysseús at Ithaca. Special mention is made of the builders in Troy (Z, 315). Shipbuilding also required a peculiar skill. A celebrated shipbuilder of the Trojans was Harmonides, who had built for Paris the smoothly gliding ships (Z, 59). As an eminent artist, Homer also mentions Epeius (θ, 493), who built the wooden horse for Troy; the turner Icmalius, who prepared for Penelope a beautiful lounging chair of ivory and silver (τ, 57); the shipbuilder Noëmon, in Ithaca, who lent Telemachus a ship for his journey to Pylos and Sparta; and the skillful Polybus, in Scheria, the manufacturer of the balls with which the princes of the Phaeacians played so cleverly before Odysseus.

Odysseus himself possessed conspicuous skill in woodwork. Not only did he prepare the barge mentioned above, but also, in an outer room of his palace, behind the women's apartments, he had attached a bed to a wild olive tree, thus using its trunk as a bedpost. Moreover, he adorned the bedstead in an artistic fashion with gold, silver, and ivory (ψ, 192).

61. The Wealth of the Homeric Princes and Nobles

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FIG. 23. HEPHAESTUS
(Rome.)

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consisted chiefly in the possession of herds. Odysseus, who, compared with the power and wealth of Menelaüs, was only a petty king, possessed, on the mainland, twelve flocks of sheep, twelve droves of swine, twelve flocks of goats; and at Ithaca, eleven flocks of goats, which Melanthius tended; besides twelve droves of swine containing nine hundred and sixty animals, under the oversight of Eumaeus. In addition to cattle-raising, his slaves, under the direction of Dolius and his six sons, carried on extensive farming and gardening, which were the special care of the aged Laërtes (ω, 497).

62. Horticulture. To judge from the description of the gardens of Alcinoüs (η, 112), horticulture had already reached a high state of development. The large four-acre garden plot, situated near the court, was inclosed by a thick hedge, and the front sections were set with tall fruit trees—pears, pomegranates, apples, and glittering olive trees. In a sunny spot adjoining this was a vineyard, and a well-tended vegetable garden was not lacking.

63. Fishing. Besides bread, fruit, dairy products, and the flesh of the animals of the flocks, fish also is mentioned (τ, 113) as a common food, and we are told (μ, 253) how the fisherman, sitting upon the edge of the seashore, catches fish with a long pole; and as soon as he notices, by the trembling movement of the cork which floats upon the water and supports the hook, that a fish has nibbled at the bait, he throws the fish out upon the land with the rod. We read again (χ, 384) how fish are caught by fishermen in large many-meshed nets, and are shaken out upon the shore. Homer is also acquainted with divers (π, 745),

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who, in spite of the great depth of the sea, spring headforemost overboard into the waves to seek for oysters, which even at that time serve as food. But usually the Homeric heroes, as we saw above, preferred roast beef, mutton, or pork, or the flesh of game caught in the chase.[1]

64. Hunting.[2] Besides marauding expeditions and incursions, the Homeric heroes like to take part in the chase (ι, 156). Upon an island abounding in mountain goats, in the neighborhood of the land of the Cyclops, Odysseus prepared a great hunt. Armed with bows and pikes, the hunters divided themselves into three parties, surrounded the woods, and laid low one hundred and eighteen goats, so that nine goats fell to the lot of each of the twelve ships, while Odysseus received ten for himself. The stag hunt of Odysseus, in which he brought down the stag with lofty antlers at the river, is vividly portrayed (κ, 158). When the sun shone hot the animal, having grazed on the heath, descended to the river, but just as it stepped out into the path it was struck in the middle of the back by a spear, and with a loud cry fell to the ground. A great deal of danger attended the wild boar hunt, in which Odysseus as a youth participated during a visit to his grandfather Autolycus, in the wilds of Parnassus (τ, 429). They proceeded very early in the morning to the ravines of the mountain, where the pack of hounds soon struck the trail of a powerful boar, and was followed by the sons of Autolycus; but in front of all,

[1] Tsountas and Manatt, Mycenaean Age, p. 334.
[2] Ibid., p. 352.

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FIG. 24. HERMES
(Florence, Uffizi.)

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close behind the dogs, was Odysseus, brandishing his spear. As soon as the animal in his covert saw how near the hunters were, he raised his bristles, and with flaming eyes rushed out of the dark thicket, and before Odysseus, who had already taken his position for the thrust, could strike him, the boar, dashing underneath his spear, had inflicted a deep flesh-wound over his knee; but, pierced through the right shoulder by Odysseus's lance, he immediately fell over with a loud cry. The hunter, from his lurking place, brought down an ibex, with antlers sixteen hands broad, at the very moment it stepped forward from behind the cliff (Δ, 105). The only lion hunts mentioned are those which occur when the beast tries to break into a cattle stall at night (ρ, 657), and is kept off by the country people with dogs, javelins, and burning torches, until at daybreak he departs of his own accord; or when the lion devours the game killed by the hunters, undismayed by the attacks of the men and dogs (Γ, 23).

Bird-catching is mentioned in χ, 469, where a figure is used of thrushes and doves caught in a net.

65. Contests and Dancing. The Greek custom of contending with each other in boxing matches and displaying one's strength and skill reaches back to the times of Homer. So Alcinoüs, the king of the Phaeacians, after the great feast, arranged public contests in the market place, in honor of Odysseus (θ, 97). Seven youths entered the race, in which the king's son, Clytoneüs, gained the victory. Then followed wrestling, jumping, discus-throwing, boxing, and, finally, dancing, and a skillful game of ball. After the maidens of Nausicaä had washed the linen and spread it out on the seashore to bleach (ζ, 100),

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they likewise engaged in a game of ball, which the king's daughter began with a song, and while singing and dancing they threw the ball to each other.

Before the suitors of Penelope went to their meals in the men's hall, they were accustomed to pass the time in front of the palace with all kinds of games, including draughts, similar to our chess (α, 107), and sometimes contests of strength. So they exercised themselves, and contended with each other in throwing the discus and hurling the spear (δ, 626).

The contests must be mentioned which Achilles arranged at the funeral games of Patroclus (Ψ, 263), and in which the most celebrated princes and heroes contended for the prizes offered in chariot-racing, boxing, combats with the spear, throwing the discus, shooting the bow, and hurling the spear.

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Front View. Side View.

FIG. 25. ATHENA PARTHENOS
Varvakeion Statuette, Phidian Type
(Athens, National Museum.)

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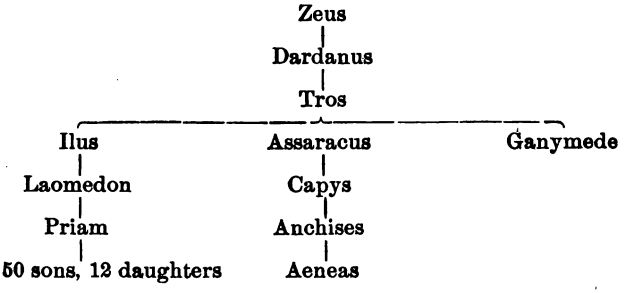
HOMERIC GENEALOGY

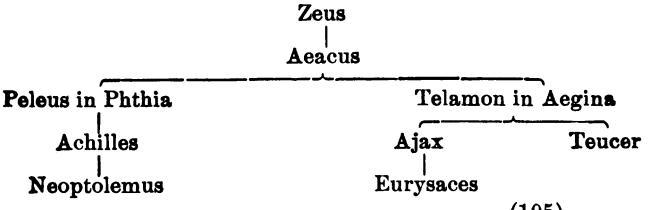
The Most Important Genealogical Trees

66. The Dardanidae of Ilios



The most famous sons of Priam and Hecuba are Hector, Deïphobus, Helenus, Paris (Alexandros), Troilus, and Polydorus. Laodice and Cassandra are mentioned as their daughters.

67. The Aeacidae of Aegina



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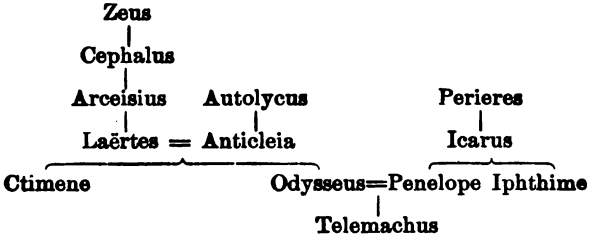
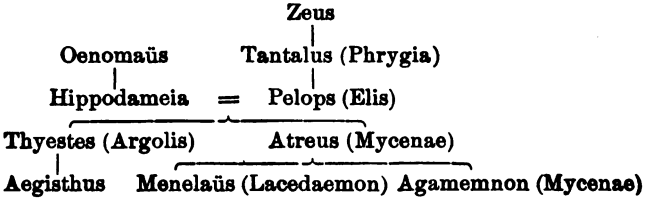
68. The House of Odysseus of Ithaca



69. The Tantalidae of the Peloponnesus



According to I., 145, the three daughters of Agamemnon are Laodice, Chrysothemis, and Iphianassa (Iphigenia); and his son is Orestes.

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LANDS AND PEOPLE

The geographical knowledge of Homer is limited to the countries bordering on the coast of the Aegean Sea. Lands to the west were known only from the wonderful reports of the Phoenician sailors.

70. Greece

Homer had no common appellation for Greece or for the Greek people. He speaks of the country of Hellas and mid-Argos (α, 344), or Argos and the land of the Achaeans (Γ, 75), when he wishes to designate the Peloponnesus and the rest of Greece.

The Inhabitants Are Called:

1. *Achaeans*, or the *sons of the Achaeans*, with the epithets "bright-eyed," "head-covered," "quarrelsome," "strong-hearted," "bronze-armored," "well-greaved." The Achaean women are spoken of as "beautifully clad" and "beautiful-haired."

2. *Argives*, "armed," "bronze-clad," "war-loving," "lance-hurling."

3. *Danaäns*, "furnished with shields," "possessing swift horses," "war-loving servants of Ares."

The following passages, α, 239; ξ, 369; Β, 404; Ψ, 236, where the expression Pan-Achaeans occurs, and likewise Β, 530, where we find the phrase "Pan-Hellenes and Achaeans," are probably late interpolations.

Hellas, between the rivers Asopus and Enipeus, together with Phthia, on the river Spercheüs, consti-

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tutes the kingdom of Peleus, situated in South Thessaly.

The Myrmidons, the Achaean people of Achilles, "high-spirited," "war-loving," "possessing swift steeds," "contending with the spear," "resembling voracious wolves."

Pierians, on the borders of Thessaly and Macedonia.

Taphians, a race on the western coast of Acarnania, "helm-loving pirates."

Aetolians, "furious in battle."

Ionians (N, 685), the inhabitants of Attica, "wearers of long garments."

In the Peloponnesus

Argos, a district of Agamemnon, with the towns Mycenae (A, 30) and Argos; called "Achaean," "thirsty," "productive," "horse-producing."

Arcadia, "spear-contending Arcadians."

Aegialus, the later Achaia.

Elis, "horse-nurturing;" here rule the Epeians, "clad in glittering armor" (N, 686).

Messene (Φ, 15), with the city Pherae.

Pylus, Nestor's kingdom, embracing South Elis and Messenia, "very sacred," "sandy."

Gerenia, the birthplace of Nestor.

Lacedaemon, "low-lying," "abounding in ravines," with the principal city, Sparta.

71. The Greek Islands

On the Western Coast

Ithaca (ι, 21), containing a few square miles, indicated by Homer as the most westerly of the islands.

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It is now supposed to be the peninsula Leucas, and not the island which to-day bears its name. Since it was mountainous, it was adapted to the rearing of cattle, but not of horses. This island, together with *Dulichium*, *Samos*, and well-wooded *Zacynthus* inhabited by the Cephallenians, formed the kingdom of Odysseus.

Asteris, a small rocky isle near Ithaca (δ, 846).

Taphus, on the western coast of Acarnania (α, 417).

Islands in the South

Cythera, near the promontory Malea (ι, 81).

Crete, a large, fruitful, and populous island, with ninety towns (τ, 172). The large city Cnosus was the ancient capital of the mythical King Minos. Various nationalities were here represented—primitive Cretans, Pelasgians, Cydonians, Achaeans, and the Dorians, who fall into three branches.

Islands in the East

Salamis and *Aegina*, in the Saronic Gulf, belonging to Diomedes.

Euboea and *Scyrus* (Neoptolemus).

Islands between Greece and Asia

Dia (Naxos) and *Delos* (ζ, 162).

Samothrace, *Imbros*, *Lemnos* ("rugged," "holy"), *Tenedos*, *Lesbos*, *Chios*, *Cos*, *Rhodes*, *Cyprus* (sacred to Aphrodite).

More distant islands are *Sicania* (Sicily: ω, 307), and *Pharos*, at the mouth of the Nile (δ, 355).

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72. The Asiatic Coast

Asia, deriving its name from the Asian mead at the mouth of the river Cayster, near Ephesus.

Troy, with its principal city, *Ilios*.

Trojans, "bronze-clad," "manly," "haughty," "strife-loving," "horse-taming."

Trojan women, "beautiful-haired," "deep-girdled," "garment-trailing."

Trojans and *Lycians* and *Dardanians*, "fighting hand to hand" (Θ, 173).

Dardanian women, "deep-girdled."

Mysians, on the river Aesepus, "fighting hand to hand," "strong-spirited."

Leleges, opposite Lesbos, "war-loving."

Maeonia (Lydia), "lovely Maeonia" (Δ, 141).

Carians, "uncouth of speech."

Paphlagonians, on the Pontus, "high-spirited," "equipped with shields."

Caucones, in Bithynia.

Lycians, "shield-bearing."

Cilicia, in Phrygia, with the towns *Thebe*, at the foot of Mount Placus, and *Lyrnessus*.

Ascania, a district in Bithynia.

Phrygia, lying on the river Sangarius, "rich in vines."

73. More Distant Countries

Phoenicia (δ, 83; ξ, 291), "very crafty" Phoenicians (ο, 419), "renowned seamen," "cheats."

Sidonia, the Sidonians "skilled in art," "famous."

Solymi (Z, 184; ε, 283).

Egypt, "bitter Egypt" (ρ, 448).

Libya, west of Egypt.

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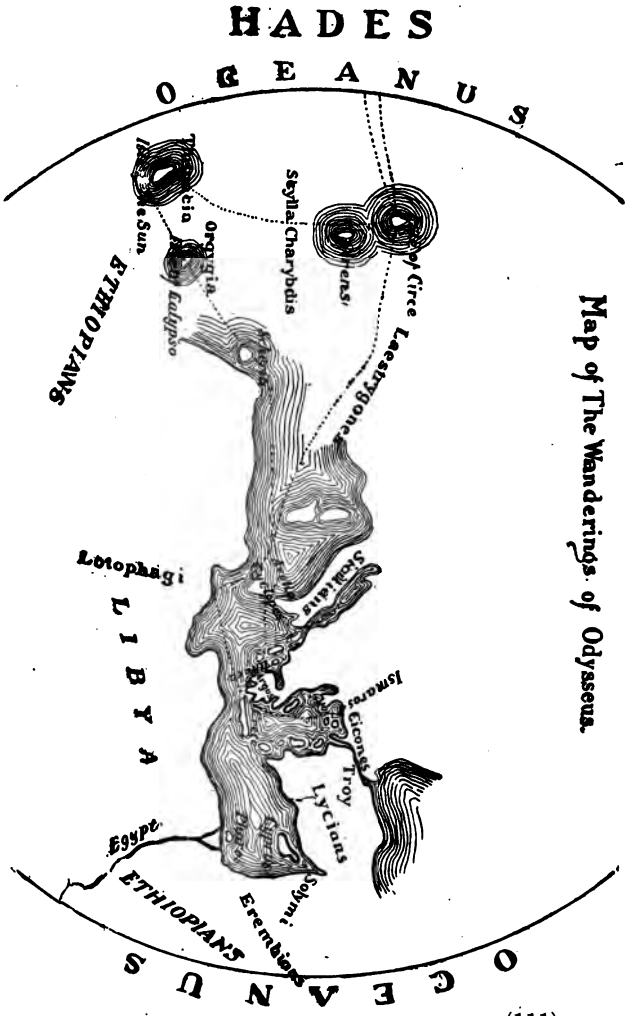
MAP A



Map of The Wanderings of Odysseus

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74. Fabulous Countries and Nations

Ethiopians, "distant," "remotest of men," "beloved of the gods."

Amazons, "manlike," "warlike."

Giants, "earth-born," related to the Phaeacians (η, 59), a race hostile to the gods, annihilated by Zeus.

Centaurs, a savage race in Thessaly, "inhabiting caves" (A, 268).

75. Course of the Wanderings of Odysseus

Cicones, a people on the Thracian coast.

Lotophagi, evidently a people on the northern coast of Africa, living on the fruit of the palm.

Cyclopes, a wandering tribe at the lowest stage of civilization, without political unity. Near these was an uninhabited isle filled with goats.

Aeolia, an island lying toward the north, belonging to the wind god Aeolus.

Laestrygones, man-eating giants of the north, dwelling in small towns, with political organization.

Aeaea, in the extreme northwest, the island of Circe. South of this, in the Western Ocean, lie the *Island of the Sirens*, the *Wandering Rocks*, and the *White Rock*.

Thrinacia, the isle of Helios, with Scylla and Charybdis near by.

Ogygia, in the Western Ocean, the island of Calypso.

Scheria, the island of the Phaeacians.

Clearly in these wanderings information concerning the islands situated in the western Mediterranean Sea is so mingled with all kinds of sailors' tales about wonderful isles in the ocean that it is impossible to determine more closely the situation of individual countries.

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THE TROAD

By Professor H. C. Tolman

HISSARLIK

Translated from Dr. Wilhèlm Dörpfeld's Troja

8

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ἔσσεται ἦμαρ, ὅτ' ἄν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ Ἴλιος ἰρὴ
καὶ Πρίαμος καὶ λαὸς ἐυμμελίω Πριάμοιο
(114)

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THE TROAD

We quote the following (§§ 76–83) from an article by Professor **H. C. Tolman**, on a *Visit to the Plain of Troy*.

76. General Description of the Plain. As we ap-

Fig. 26. Mount Ida

proach the coast of Asia Minor, "fair-stablished" Lesbos (I, 664; δ, 342; ρ, 133) appears on our right. Gradually there comes into view the whole panorama of the Troad. Far in the extreme south rises a high

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mountain peak, from which extend ramifications, northeastward and southwestward, so numerous and multiform that by old writers the mountain was likened to a monstrous centipede.[1] This is "many ridged" Ida (Χ, 171; Λ, 112; Υ, 91), and that topmost crest is Gargarus,[2] rising almost six thousand feet, blue and majestic, its ranges broken by river valleys, until at last a line of hills runs to the Hellespont and completes the eastern boundary of the Trojan Plain. On this summit sat Zeus, "exulting in glory, looking down upon the city of the Trojans and the ships of the Achaeans" (Θ, 47–52). Here was his sanctuary (Θ, 48). Hither repaired Hera (Ξ, 292).

A little distance from the coast is an island rising like a hill out of the sea. Its proximity to the shore makes it a conspicuous object in the Trojan country.

> Est in conspectu Tenedos, notissima fama
> Insula dives opum, Priami dum regna manebant.

The theater of the Homeric wars is before our eyes. Tenedos (Α, 38, 452; Λ, 625; Ν, 33; γ, 159) lies in front of the wide Besika Bay, about four miles from the mainland and twelve from the Hellespont. Farther in the distance is "rugged" Imbros (Ν, 33; Ω, 78), above which towers the huge Samothracian mountain.[3] It was from this summit that Poseidon looked upon the battle, "for thence was plain in sight all Ida, and plain in sight were Priam's city and the ships of the

[1] Strabo, XIII., 583.

[2] Gargarus (called to-day Kazdagh) is mentioned in Θ, 48; Ξ, 292, 352; Ο, 152.

[3] Called by a Scholiast to Ν, 11, Saoke.

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Achaeans" (N, 11–14). In a clear day "holy" Lemnos (B, 722) shows its outline in the west, while, over one hundred miles distant, Mount Athos (Ξ, 229) is dimly seen at sunset.

Between the Thracian Chersonesus, which in the clear atmosphere of the Troad seems close at hand, and a sandy promontory guarded by the crumbling old fortification of Kum Kaleh ("sand fortress"), the "strong-flowing" Hellespont (B, 845; M, 30) meets the sea. Near the entrance juts out Cape Sigeum, where to-day is the Christian village of Yeni Shehr, while about four miles to the east is the rocky shore of Rhoeteum (*Rhoeteae orae*, Verg. Aen., III., 108). Between these two points, not very far from Troy (for heralds go and return before sunrise), was drawn up the Greek fleet, "row behind row, filling up the shore's wide mouth which lay betwixt the headlands" (Ξ, 33).

Along the Aegean Sea a low line of hills slopes somewhat abruptly toward the water's edge. The eastern range, stretching from the highest crest of Ida, after repeated interruptions, ends at Rhoeteum. Between these eastern and western ranges lies the deep-soiled valley of the Scamander, with here and there groves of oaks, while reed and tamarisk line the river bank, as in Trojan days.[1] Another valley—this time of an insignificant swamp stream, called Dumbrek Su, and often identified with the Simoïs—cuts the eastern chain of hills at a little distance from the Hellespont.

Here at the southern point of meeting of the two valleys of the Scamander and the Dumbrek Su is the

[1] Cf. Fellner, Die homerische Flora, Wien, 1897.

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mound of Hissarlik, rising about sixty feet above the plain, and over three miles distant from the sea and from the Hellespont.[1] The hillside is rather precipitous on the north, where it meets the swamp of the latter stream, forming a marked contrast to its gentle incline westward into the broad and level plain of the Scamander.

The name Hissarlik ("little fortification") was given to this locality because of the Hellenistic remains

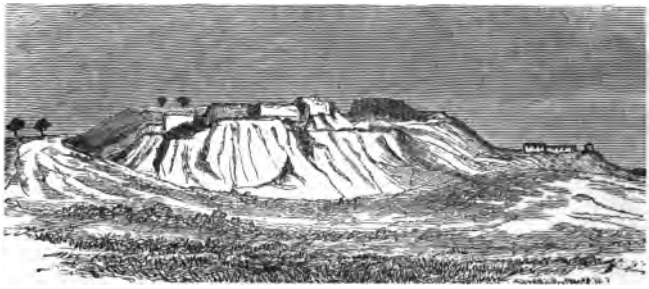

FIG. 27: THE SITE OF TROY
(Reproduced, by permission, from Schliemann's "Ilios." Copyright, 1880, by Harper & Brothers.)

which were here visible. In fact, the inhabitants of the little settlement of Tshiblak, a mile or so distant, designated it the "Place of Ruins" (*Asarlik*). Today it is a place of ruins indeed, and, we may add, of isolation and desolation as well. A more lonely spot the traveler rarely visits, and he can find shelter

[1] I cite some of the early adherents of the Troy-Hissarlik theory: Maclaren, Topography of the Plain of Troy, 1822; Grote, History of Greece, 1846; Schliemann, Ithaka, 1869; Gladstone, Homer, 1878; Sayce, Contemporary Review, 1878; Eckenbrecher, Die Lage des homerischen Ilion, 1842; Braun, Homer und sein Zeitalter, 1858; Christ, Topographie der troianischen Ebene, 1874; Meyer, Geschichte von Troas, 1877; Lenormant, Les Antiquités de la Troade, 1876.

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for the night only in the miserable little villages of Yeni Shehr or Yeni Koï. Yet this insignificant hill probably marks the site of the Homeric Pergamos, or at least that city whose siege and capture formed the historical basis of the poems. On the same plateau was built the Græco-Roman Ilion, with its world-renowned Athena temple. Xerxes (Herodotus, VII., 43) and Alexander (Arian, I., 11) ascended the citadel, believing that they stood in "divine Ilios."

As the eye surveys the Trojan country, it is attracted to those heights near Bunarbashi, almost ten miles distant from the Hellespont, amid which, in the mountain fastnesses, where the Ida range is high and steep, is the fortress of Balidagh. Rising as it does five hundred feet, it forms an excellent spot for an impregnable stronghold. In early times many believed that it was Priam's citadel.[1]

The mention of objects familiar only to one who knows the Trojan country suggests that the poet had seen the Troad;[2] that, as he observed the sun set be-

[1] Lechevalier, Voyage de la Troade (Lechevalier visited the Troad in 1785); Choiseul-Gouffier, Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce, 1820; Texier, Description de l'Asie Mineure, 1839; Perrot, Excursion à Troie, 1874; Lenz, Die Ebene von Troia, 1798; von Moltke, Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei, 1841; Forchhammer, Beschreibung der Ebene von Troja, 1842; Welcker, Kleine Schriften, 1844; Kiepert, Memoir über die Construction der Karte von Kleinasien, 1854; Hahn, Die Ausgrabungen auf der homerischen Pergamos, 1864; Hasper, Beiträge zur Topographie der homerischen Ilias, 1867; Curtius, Griechische Geschichte, 1874; Leake, Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor, 1824; Fellowes, Excursion in Asia Minor, 1838; Acland, The Plains of Troy, 1839; Rawlinson, Herodotus, 1875.

[2] Heinrich, Troja bei Homer und in der Wirklichkeit, 1895.

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hind Imbros and "wooded" Samothrace, bringing them boldly out in the ruddy glow of the twilight, he pictured deity on the mountain's topmost crest. A man as conservative in this matter as Professor Christ is led to assert (*Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*, 1898, p. 55): "His descriptions of Mount Ida, of the plain of the Scamander (E, 773), of Poseidon's high lookout from Samothrace (N, 10), are so true to nature (*zeigen so viel Naturwahrheit*) that we must feel that the poet had looked with his own eyes upon the theater of his heroes' deeds." At any rate, the traveler, as he looks down upon the city and land of the Trojans, does not feel inclined to be skeptical; rather is he ready to exclaim:

> O patria, O divum domus, Ilium, et incluta bello
> Moenia Dardanidum!

Every spot before him seems pregnant with the burden of Troy's story:

> Hic Dolopum manus, hic saevus tendebat Achilles;
> Classibus hic locus; hic acie certare solebant.

77. **The Scamander.** Before it broadens out into the plain, the Scamander (Mendere) flows through a rocky valley. Its present course is considerably over a mile distant from Hissarlik. It empties into the Hellespont at the extreme west corner of the plain. Consider the situation: the distance of the Scamander from Hissarlik; its outlet, near Sigeum, to the extreme west; the Greek fleet along the Hellespont, and, accordingly, on the right bank of the river. Now Homer's picture puts the Greeks on the opposite side. Beloch represents the Scamander of Homer as flowing its

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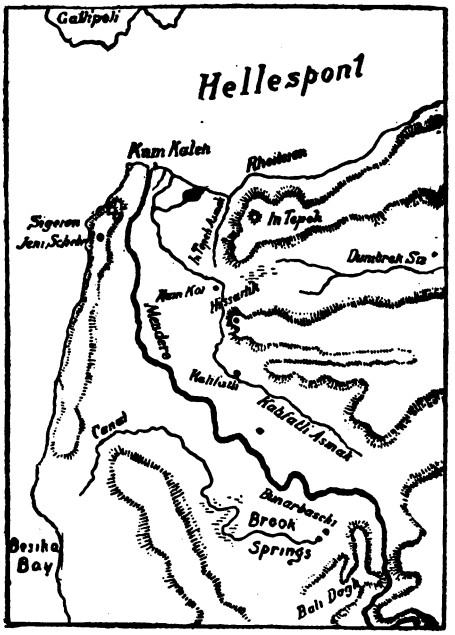
present course.[1] In doing this he is compelled to give a forced interpretation of Ω, 692, a wrong explanation of Λ, 498, and Φ, 1 fg.[2] These difficulties have induced many to believe that the poet had no



MAP B. THE TROAD

acquaintance with the Troad. He puts the Greek host along the Hellespont; again he represents them on the left of the Scamander. Priam has to ford the river to visit the tent of Achilles. Surely there is no room along the Hellespont between the mouth of the

[1] Griechische Geschichte, 1893

[2] Ξ, 433. and Π, 395 fg., are ignored by him. Cf. Heinrich, Troja bei Homer und in der Wirklichkeit, 1895.

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present Scamander and the sea. The Greek camp must, therefore, lie to the right; and if so, how would Priam have occasion to cross the stream?

An old river bed is seen close to Hissarlik, dry in summer, with here and there pools of water. This has been identified with the ancient course of the Scamander. It is flooded in the rainy season, and bears the name Kalifatli Asmak, from the little village of Kalifatli by its side. But we have not yet enough to explain the situation in the Iliad; for after passing Kum Koï ("sand village"), which lies a little to the northwest of Hissarlik, the small stream has made a sharp bend, and empties through a delta too far to the west to allow the position of the Greek fleet between its mouth and the sea.

The Homeric description needs the following: At Rhoeteum, near a mound, which is called to-day In Tepeh, but which tradition styles the "Tomb of Ajax," is observed a streamlet which almost joins in a direct line the Kalifatli at the point where the latter makes its bend to the westward. Here we may mark the mouth of the historic river. In that case the Scamander of Trojan times flowed along the eastern range of hills, passing under the mound of Hissarlik, and from thence making its course in a straight line to the Hellespont, which it joined at Rhoeteum. This would leave the bend of the sea from Sigeum to Rhoeteum free for ships, and would place the Greeks on the opposite side of the river to the Trojans. Demetrius of Skepsis, misinterpreting a statement in Herodotus,[1] supposed that the shore along the Hellespont

[1] Herodotus, II., 10.

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had advanced. Virchow has made geological tests and failed to find anything to indicate that this portion of the plain is an alluvial deposit. He shows also how it is impossible for land to form against such a swift torrent.[1] Furthermore, in a work attributed to an old geographer Scylax, the statement is made that Ilion is twenty-five stades from the sea, which is practically the distance of Hissarlik from the Hellespont to-day. This theory for the old course of the Scamander is still unrefuted.[2]

78. The Simoïs. The insignificant swamp brook (Dumbrek Su), often identified with the Homeric Simoïs, can hardly be classed with Vergil's buffeting river:

> Ubi tot Simois correpta sub undis
> Scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volvit.

It seems that this stream ought not to have a prominent place in Homer; yet it is referred to seven times, with no hint of its being smaller than the Scamander. Hercher argues that the mention of the Simoïs in the Homeric poems is a late interpolation by one who knew nothing of the Trojan country.[3] Rossmann takes the opposite extreme view, and believes that only one thoroughly versed in the Troad could picture the Simoïs in the light it is. He bids us look at the picture of the Scamander imploring the Simoïs to aid against Achilles (Φ, 308 fg.), and supposes that such a scene would be inapplicable to an independent

[1] Beiträge zur Landeskunde der Troas, 1879.

[2] "Und es scheint nichts dagegen zu sprechen." Heinrich.

[3] Ueber die homerische Ebene von Troja, 1875; Heinrich. Troja bei Homer und in der Wirklichkeit.

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(*selbständiger*) stream; that it is highly fitting that the Simoïs flow its sluggish and lazy course, remaining in the swamp till through the pressure of high water it reaches the Scamander. Yet Rossmann's argument (quoted with favor by Heinrich) loses its force when we consider that in all probability this portion of the Iliad belongs to the third stratum of the poem.

79. Bunarbashi. To the old arguments identifying the heights of Bunarbashi with "steep" and "windy" Troy,[1] Nikolaïdes, in the Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1894, adds a new one so unique that I take space to give its substance. From Grave IV on the Acropolis of Mycenae, a grave which is the oldest of the shaft tombs, was taken a silver vase whereon was pictured a battle scene. The vase is shattered, but one large fragment and several smaller ones are preserved. The engraving was obscured by a thick accretion of oxide; hence this most interesting relic lay in the National Museum unnoticed. Koumanoudes was the first to bring the scenes to light, and Tsountas to give them to the world in the Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1891. A contest before a walled city is clearly seen. On the steep hillside rise the fortifications, towering above which, like terraces, are squares upon squares, which may represent the roofs and towers of the city. On the wall stand women, five in number, while the hand of a sixth is seen upraised. They appeal wildly to the struggling warriors to save the city. Immediately under the battlements are two figures, upright and serene. These may be the elders of the town come out beyond the gates to inspire resolution,

[1] See footnote on page 119.

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clothed with the chlaina;[1] or they may be spearmen, with shield and spear.[2] Before the two figures kneel bowmen, with arrows fixed; and in front of these stand slingers in the midst of action. At the bottom

FIG. 28. SIEGE SCENE FROM SILVER VASE
(Mycenae.)

appear the head and breast of a helmeted warrior wearing a short chiton. Two men are crouching among

[1] So The Mycenaean Age, p. 162, 1897. "A necessary complement was the chlaina, or thick woolen cloak, reaching to the knees, or even to the ankles, and doubtless worn habitually by the elders, and in winter at least by the younger men. It appears on the two old men just behind the bowmen on the background of the siege scene."

[2] So Rossbach, Philologus, 1892.

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the slingers. This picture almost fits the battle scene on the shield of Herakles.[1]

Nikolaïdes startles us by seeing on this vase the battlements of Troy. From the wall Hecuba, Andromache, and other women are looking on the fate of Hector (X, 405), while Achilles nods to the Greeks not to strike at Hector, but to leave to him alone the glory of his death. Lines below the combatants are interpreted as the two springs—the one warm, the other cold—which the adherents of the Bunarbashi theory think they find on this spot.[2]

If this be Troy, the steep upon which stands the city suits Bunarbashi far better than Hissarlik. Nikolaïdes, however, fails to consider that the vase is probably older than the period of the Trojan War.[3] As I recall the elevation of Bunarbashi, I think of the words of Count von Moltke respecting it: "We who are no scholars allow ourselves to be guided solely by military instinct to the spot which, in old times as well as now, men would have selected for an inaccessible citadel."

80. Schliemann's Troy. II Stratum. At first Schliemann found on the hill of Hissarlik seven distinct layers, one above the other.[4] The first was prehistoric; the second he believed to be the Ilios of Priam. On the gold ornaments exhumed were the rosettes

[1] Hesiod, Shield of Herakles, 237 fg.

[2] Lechevalier, Voyage de la Troade, 1802. Cf. Heinrich, Troja bei Homer und in der Wirklichkeit.

[3] Frazer, Pausanias, III., 117.

[4] Schliemann, Ilios; Schuchhardt-Sellers, Schliemann's Excavations, 1891; Perrot et Chipiez, Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité, 6, 176.

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and spirals similar in pattern to what we designate to-day as the gold work of the oldest stage of Mycenaean civilization. A palace was discovered corresponding somewhat in general arrangement to the palaces of Tiryns and Mycenae. The walls of defense of

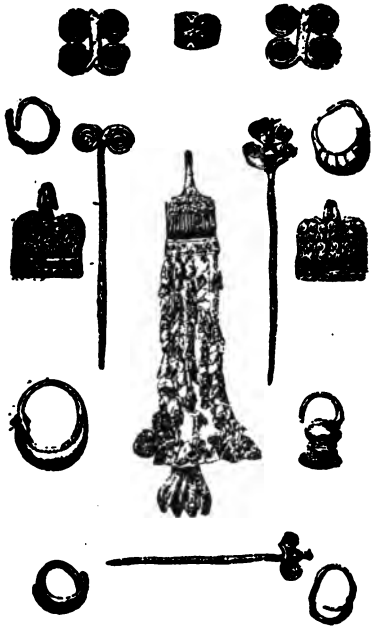

FIG. 29. GOLD ORNAMENTS (with Spirals and Rosettes) FROM II STRATUM

the citadel were of considerable magnitude. A conflagration had destroyed the town. This must be, Schliemann thought, the Homeric Troy. In perfect assurance he applied to every object found an appropriate name. The gold ornament, with its countless tassels, became part of the "Treasure of Priam"

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(*Schatz des Priamos*). In the Museum für Völkerkunde, at Berlin, where most of the discoveries are preserved, we used to read a label as significant as the following: "Skull of a Trojan Warrior" (*Schädel eines trojanischen Kriegers*). We cannot condemn such enthusiasm when we realize that the all-controlling ambition of Schliemann's life—a life which reads like romance—was to find the Homeric Pergamos. It is pathetic to remember that he died just as "Mycenaean Troy" was brought to light. However much his statements may be modified or his theories changed, the name of Heinrich Schliemann will be spoken reverently as long as history, literature, and art have place among men.

We are now able to assign the date of Stratum II to about the period of Cretan dominion (2500–2000 B.C.), and in so doing we recall the tradition that Teucer, founder of the most ancient Trojan city, came from Crete. Surely the archaic pottery of this stratum is inferior to that found at Thera (dated *circa* 2000 B.C.).

81. Dörpfeld's Troy. VI Stratum. In the excavations which Schliemann and Dörpfeld carried on conjointly in 1890 *nine* layers of settlements were distinguished instead of seven. In the sixth stratum (in the megaron of VI A) was found the lustrous class of pottery characteristic of the best Mycenaean period.[1] Ruins of city buildings were also discovered. The neglect in former excavations to appreciate the importance of this settlement is partly due to the

[1] Schliemann, Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Troja im Jahre 1890 (Taf. I, II).

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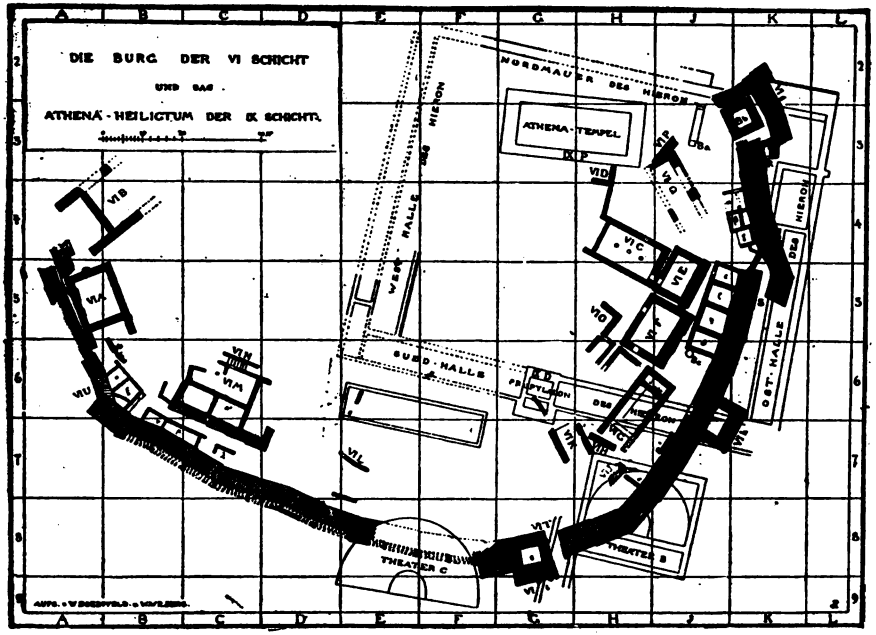

PLAN II. CITADEL OF VI STRATUM

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fact that the Romans cut away old buildings to obtain a level foundation for the new city.

Dörpfeld continued the work after Schliemann's death. Fortification walls, dwellings, gates, towers were unearthed.[1] Some of the streets were paved with gypsum. The citadel was terrace-formed. The houses consist of a large apartment and antechamber, resembling in this respect the megaron of the palace discovered at Gha, the private house exhumed close to the south wall of the citadel of Mycenae, and the women's hall at Tiryns. Although the large megara at Mycenae and Tiryns are distinguished by antechamber (*πρόδομος*) and vestibule (*αἴθουσα*), the Homeric description fits the simpler arrangement of a single anteroom designated by both names. The columns of the Trojan megaron are absent, with one exception. This may show that the design was taken from the buildings of the prehistoric settlements, especially the palace of the second stratum. The wall of the city, built out of blocks of limestone, is seen on the south, west, east. The foundation wall, sixteen feet thick and fifteen to twenty feet high, is scalable on the east side. Upon this is built a perpendicular upper wall, six feet thick. There are three gates—one on the south, another on the southwest, another on the east. A tower stands by the south gate, another juts out farther toward the east wall, while at the northeast corner rises a mighty tower which guards the water supply.[2]

[1] Dörpfeld, Troja, Bericht über die im Jahre 1893 in Troja veranstalteten Ausgrabungen.

[2] Dörpfeld, Mitth. Ath., 1894.

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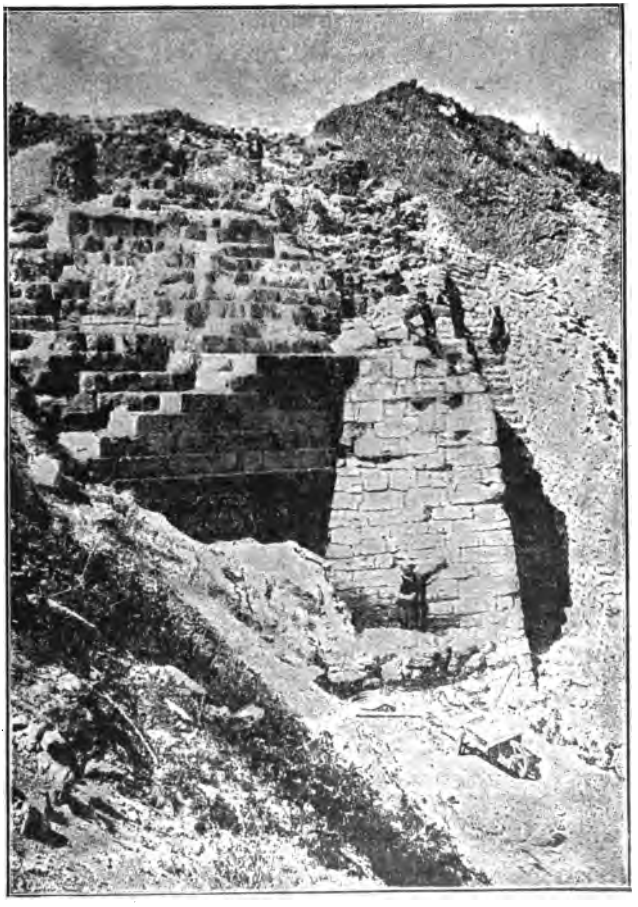

FIG. 80. GREAT NORTH-EAST TOWER AT TROY

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Vases of Mycenaean pattern were exhumed, including the lustrous "false-necked" Mycenaean jars. Each of these jars—unique specimens of ceramic art—has a closed neck with a spout close beside it, through which the liquid is poured, while the handles

FIG. 31. FALSE NECKED MYCENAEAN JAR

joining the neck, resemble a pair of stirrups; hence the German name, "stirrup-jar" (*Bügelkanne*). Since the general type of pottery of this stratum is the developed monochrome and probably a native product, the Mycenaean ware must be explained as importations.[1]

82. Mycenaean Civilization. What do we mean by "Mycenaean pottery," "Mycenaean Troy"? The term "Mycenaean" is roughly applied to those palaces, dwelling houses, tombs, pottery, weapons, gems, and ornaments which exhibit a similarity, more or less striking, to those found on the citadel of Mycenae—monuments which evidently are the work of one and the same race. Recent excavations have shown the extent of Mycenaean influence to be broader than scholars of a few years ago even dreamed of believing. We

[1] Brückner, Die keramischen Funde, Troja, pp. 80-120.

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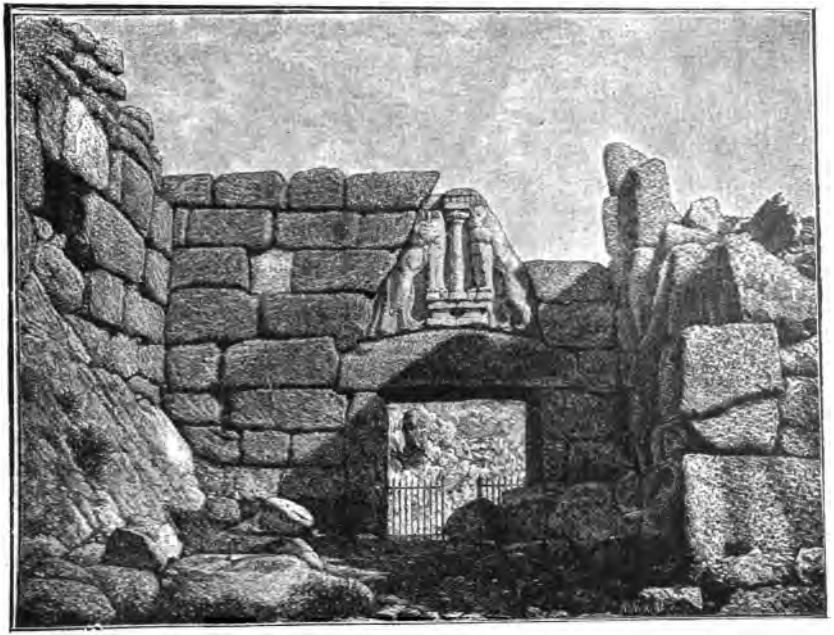

FIG. 32. THE LIONS' GATE AT MYCENAE

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venture to burden the reader with a list of some forty localities which unmistakably had come in touch with this civilization. It is noteworthy how many districts mentioned in the Homeric poems are here included. In addition to the monuments at Mycenae, Tiryns, and Hissarlik,[1] Mycenaean remains have been found at the Argive Heraeum,[2] Nauplia,[3] Midea (near Nauplia),[4] Asine[5] (in Argolis), Kampos[6] (near ancient Gerenia), Arkina[7] (six hours from Sparta), Vaphio[8] (the ancient Pharis; cups of exquisite workmanship found), Pylus[9] (Nestor's home), Phigalia,[10] Masarakata[11] (in Cephallenia), Megara,[12] Menidi[13] (seven miles from Athens), Spata[14] (nine miles from Athens), Thoricus[15] (in Attica), Acropolis of Athens[16] (prehistoric

[1] Schliemann, Mycenae and Tiryns; Schuchhardt-Sellers, Schliemann's Excavations; Tsountas and Manatt, Mycenaean Age; Frazer, Pausanias III., 97–230; Dörpfeld, Troja.

[2] Report of American School at Athens; American Journal of Archaeology.

[3] Frazer, Pausanias, III., 141; Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρίας, 1892, 52.

[4] Frazer, *op. cit.*, III., 231; Mitth. Athen., 17, 95.

[5] Frazer, *op. cit.*, V., 601.

[6] Frazer, *op. cit.*, III., 136; Tsountas, Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρίας, 1891, 23.

[7] Frazer, *op. cit.*, III., 136; Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1889, 132.

[8] Frazer, *op. cit.* III., 134; Gardner, New Chapters in Greek History, 70; Brunn, Griechische Kunstgeschichte, I., 46.

[9] Frazer, *op. cit.*, V., 608; Bulletin de Corresp. Hellénique, 20, 388.

[10] Milchhöfer, Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland, 54.

[11] Wolters, Mitth. Athen., 19, 488.

[12] Furtwängler and Löschcke, Mykenische Vasen, 53.

[13] Frazer, *op. cit.*, III., 137; Lolling, Mitth. Athen., 12, 139.

[14] Frazer, *op. cit.*, III., 143; Mitth. Athen., 2, 82.

[15] Frazer, *op. cit.*, III., 138, Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1890, 159.

[16] Tsountas and Manatt, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

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palace), Halike[1] (ancient Halae Aixonides, south-east of Athens), Kapandriti[2] (ancient Aphidna), Eleusis,[3] Salamis,[4] Aegina,[5] Calauria,[6] Gha[7] (near Lake Copais, identified by some with the Homeric Arne; extensive remains of prehistoric palace

FIG. 33. FALSE-NECKED AMPHORA FROM CRETE

found), Orchomenos[8] ("Treasury of Minyas"), Thebes,[9] Tanagra,[10] Lebadea,[11] Delphi,[12] Daulis,[13]

[1] Tsountas and Manatt, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[2] Frazer, *op. cit.*, III., 144.

[3] Furtwängler and Löschcke, *op. cit.*, 40; Gazette archéologique, 8, 248.

[4] Tsountas and Manatt, *op. cit.*, 387.

[5] Ibid., 388–394; Evans, Journal of Hellenic Studies, XIII., 195.

[6] Frazer, V., *op. cit.*, 596: Mitth. Athen., 20, 267.

[7] Frazer, *op. cit.*, V., 121; Tsountas and Manatt, *op. cit.*, 374.

[8] Frazer, *op. cit.*, V., 188.

[9] Furtwängler and Löschcke, *op. cit.*, 43.

[10] Ibid., 43.

[11] Ibid., 42.

[12] Frazer, *op. cit.*, V., 398; Bulletin de Corresp. Hellénique, 18, 195.

[13] Furtwängler and Löschcke, *op. cit.*, 43.

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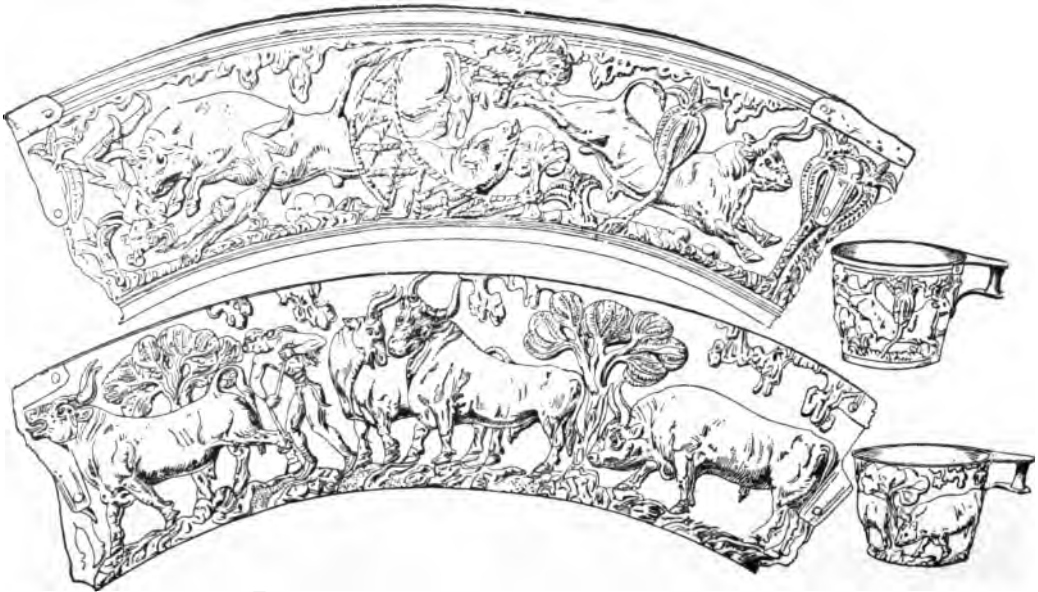

FIG. 84. GOLD CUPS FROM VAPHIO, NEAR SPARTA
(Athens, National Museum.)

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Goura (Phthiotis), Dimini[1] (three miles to the west of Volo, the ancient Iolcus), Melos[2] (four superimposed settlements, the last of which is Mycenaean), Ialysus[3] (in Rhodes), Thera,[4] Crete[5] (prehistoric palace at Cnosus, and extensive Mycenaean remains at Goulas, Gortyna, Courtes, Kavousi, Marathokephala, Anavlochus, Erganos), Cyprus,[6] Egypt,[7] Sicily,[8] Italy.[9]

Of Mycenaean pottery we distinguish two main types: the older dull type, ornamented with linear decorations—*e. g.*, spirals, parallels, circles, curved and straight lines—painted in dark red, violet, brown, but sometimes white; the later lustrous type, adorned with geometric patterns, bands, spirals, but more generally with scenes from marine life—*e. g.*, the starfish, the cuttlefish, seaweed, etc.—sometimes with birds, and later with animals and men, brilliantly glazed in red, brown, and less frequently in white.

The discoveries now being made in Crete seem to point to that island as the home of the Mycenaean *cultus*. The prestige of Mycenae may have followed the decline of Cretan supremacy. At any rate, 2000

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[1] Frazer, *op. cit.*, III., 140; Mitth. Athen., 9, 99.

[2] Annual Report of British School, 8, 1.

[3] Frazer, *op. cit.*, III., 147; Furtwängler and Löschcke, *op. cit.*, 1.

[4] Fouqué, Santorin et ses Eruptions.

[5] A. J. Evans, Journal of Hellenic Studies; Halbherr, American Journal of Archaeology; Boyd, American Journal of Archaeology.

[6] Murray, Smith, and Walters, Excavations in Cyprus.

[7] Flinders Petrie, Journal of Hellenic Studies, 11, 271.

[8] Furtwängler and Löschcke, *op. cit.*, 47.

[9] Ibid., 48.

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B.C. is not too early a date at which to place the most flourishing period of this civilization in Crete, for Mycenaean remains have been found in Thera buried under volcanic débris of an eruption of about 1800 B.C.[1] Legends of a vast Cretan empire are probably reminiscences of that mighty maritime nation, once supreme on Mediterranean waters.

83. Was There a Real Troy? With only Schliemann's "Burnt City" before them, we do not wonder that scholars were skeptical. Opinions were divided. One extreme view declared: "We know nothing of Ilion, in spite of Hissarlik and Schliemann. There are found interesting excavations in the land south of the Hellespont, but this is no proof that Troy was once on this spot. A pious opinion must not stand in place of proof."[2] In implicit faith that the Mycenaean discoveries are an exact picture of the Homeric age, Schulze swung to the opposite extreme. "The heroes of the Trojan War," he asserts, "used elegant vessels, wore seal rings upon their fingers, were attired in ornaments of gold, and have left as an inheritance to our day their faces outlined in gold masks."[3]

The picture of life in Homer is practically the same for Greeks and Trojans. Both races have the same political, moral, and religious conditions. Commenting on this, Leaf said:[4] "But we know for certain

[1] Fouqué, Santorin et ses Eruptions, argues for 2000 B.C.

[2] W. Ribbeck, Homerische Miscellen, 1888.

[3] Mykenai, Eine kritische Untersuchung der Schliemannschen Alterthümer unter Vergleichung Russischer Funde, 1880.

[4] Introduction to Schuchhardt-Sellers, 1891.

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that the dwellers upon the hill of Hissarlik were at a completely different and altogether lower stage of civilization than the royal race of Mycenae. Scarcely half a dozen objects have been found which show a point of contact. If, therefore, Homer correctly describes the Achaeans, his Trojans are quite imaginary." Ludwich, although admitting that most Mycenaean finds are older than the Homeric age, yet declared them to show that the Iliad is no picture of the imagination, but rests upon a real foundation.[1]

What shall be our verdict, now that a new Troy has been brought to light? Shall we accept Dörpfeld's positive words: "Stratum VI is the Homeric Troy, destroyed by the Greeks" (*Stratum VI ist das homerische Troja, von den Griechen zerstört*)? At any rate, we are sure that here is a city which had come in touch with Mycenaean civilization, and we can believe that its destruction formed the historical basis of the poem. "The differences," says Frazer, "between the Achaean civilization, as revealed to us by Homer, and the Mycenaean civilization, as exhibited in the monuments, are to be explained by the somewhat later date of the poems, . . . having been composed at a time when the old civilization . . . survived only in popular tradition and the lays of minstrels as the fading memory of a golden age of the past."

If the sixth city be the Homeric Troy, as Dörpfeld supposes, when dwelt the first settlers upon this hill, and what manner of men were they? Of the towns

[1] Schliemanns Ausgrabungen und die homerische Kultur, 1893.

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that once flourished here, even the names of the more remote had passed into legend, and their very site had been forgotten. Their rise and fall in the great cycle of time was like our own passing through them within the narrower compass of our years.

Fuit Ilium et ingens
Gloria Teucrorum.

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HISSARLIK

We translate the following (§§ 84–86) from the report of Dr. **Wilhelm Dörpfeld**, in his *Troja, 1893.*

84. The VI Stratum and the Homeric Pergamos. Let us compare Homer's description of the citadel of Troy with what has actually been found.

1. The Pergamos of Troy, according to Homer, was not a level citadel; for near the dwellings lay ἐν ἀκροτάτῃ πόλει (X, 172) an altar to Zeus. Therefore, according to the poet's conception, there was a highest point in the citadel where the altar to Zeus was situated, and perhaps also the two temples of Athena and Apollo. The citadel of the II stratum is not at all in accord with such a description, for it is quite level. But in the VI stratum the middle and northern parts are actually higher than the rest. The existence of a temple on this spot was felt even down into later times.

2. The buildings at Tiryns are erected partly in Cyclopean manner, with large or small unhewn stones, and partly with clay brick. At Mycenae, in addition to such walls on the citadel, we find also separate sections of walls constructed of polished stone. According to the words of Homer, we must suppose that in the Trojan citadel the buildings were built of polished stone—for the dwellings of the sons and sons-in-law of Priam were ξεστοῖο λίθοιο (Z, 244). Although the description does not at all suit the buildings at Tiryns, it is exactly in accord with the

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dwellings found in our citadel. This is all the more noteworthy because it was formerly thought that in such primitive times walls and towers were not yet built of well-hewn stones.

3. In the Pergamos of Troy, Homer is acquainted with quite a number of separate buildings, both dwellings and temples, which, though entirely separate, yet lie close together. In the citadel at Tiryns no such separate buildings are found. At most, we can see a separate building in the structure usually designated as the women's apartment. Such is not the case in our citadel, but all the buildings thus far disclosed are actually separate structures which lie very near each other.

4. The house of Alexandros, according to Homer (Z, 316), consisted of three parts: the *thalamos*, the *doma*, and the *aule*. By *thalamos* we are to understand a closed apartment which formed the interior of the dwelling and served as a sleeping room. The *doma* is a general reception room in front of the *thalamos*, thus being the anteroom of the house. The *aule* must be a court situated in front of the dwelling, under the open sky. A like threefold division is noted in other single houses mentioned in the Homeric poems—*e. g.*, the home of Eumaeus (ξ, 5 ff.) and the hut of Achilles (Ω, 452 ff.). In both these passages we read of an open court, of a *prodomos*, a room in which strangers are received and sometimes sleep; and, finally, of an inner room, in which the hearth and couches are found. In the royal palaces, such as we see at Tiryns and Mycenae, this threefold division is apparent, but not so clearly, because the separate parts are composed of numerous rooms. The court is

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double; the *doma* consists of a hall, antechamber, and vestibule; and, instead of a single *thalamos*, we have a special women's apartment with numerous rooms beside it. This same threefold division appears in later Graeco-Roman houses, in the *atrium*, the *tablinum*, and the *peristylum*.

Several buildings of our citadel consist of this threefold arrangement, because there is no doubt that before each there was an open court. The large closed room is evidently the *thalamos*, and in the half-open antechamber we see, in all probability, the *doma*, which in form would correspond to the later *tablinum*. The open court in front is the *aule*.

85. Table of the Nine Strata

I. Lowest primitive settlement; walls of small rubble-stones and clay; primitive finds; date (merely conjectural), 3000 to 2500 B.C.

II. Prehistoric citadel, with strong defensive walls and large dwellings of brick; three times destroyed and rebuilt; monochrome pottery; many objects of bronze, silver, and gold; date (merely conjectural), 2500 to 2000 B.C.

III, IV, and V. Three historic villages, built over the ruins of the second burned city; dwellings of small stones and brick; similar old Trojan pottery; date, about 2000 to 1500 B.C.

VI. Troy; citadel of the Mycenaean age; massive wall, with a great tower and stately houses of well-wrought stone; the Pergamos of which Homer sang; developed monochrome Trojan pottery; imported Mycenaean vases; date, about 1500 to 1000 B.C.

VII and VIII. Villages—one of the earlier, the

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other of a later Greek period; two separate strata of simple stone houses, built above the ruins of the VI stratum; native monochrome pottery and almost every known variety of Greek ceramics; date, 1000 B.C. to the Christian era.

IX. Acropolis of the Roman Ilium, with a famous temple of Athena and fine buildings of marble; Roman pottery and other objects; marble inscriptions; date, beginning of the Christian era to 500 A.D.

86. The Dimensions of the Sixth City Compared with Other Citadels

1. Troy, II Stratum; circuit, 350 meters; area, 8,000 square meters.

2. Troy, VI Stratum; circuit, 500 meters; area, 20,000 square meters.

3. Tiryns; circuit, 700 meters; area, 20,000 square meters.

4. Acropolis of Athens; circuit, 700 meters; area, 25,000 square meters.

5. Mycenae; circuit, 900 meters; area, 30,000 square meters.

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